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## THE GOVERNMENT AND MR. CAVE'S MISSION.

MR. DISRAELI'S careless answer to Mr. CARTWRIGHT'S question as to Mr. CAVE'S Report probably ruined a considerable number of speculators. It is true that in Stock Exchange gambling the loss of the seller is generally the gain of the buyer, and that a discouraging statement in many cases only precipitates a fall in prices which was already inevitable. Nevertheless a prudent Minister would not willingly cause a disturbance of the money market, or incur the resentment of losers, which is not balanced by any gratitude on the part of the winners. The most irritating circumstance in the whole transaction consisted in Mr. DISRAELI'S evident unconsciousness that his statement could have serious consequences. It may be doubted whether his excuse for withholding the Report was literally exact. According to Mr. DISRAELI, the Government, on seeing the Report, thought that in some respects the publication of the document might be disagreeable to the KHEDEVE. On inquiry this suspicion proved to be well founded; and it would evidently have been impossible, after asking the KHEDEVE'S consent, to disregard his protest. Dealers in Egyptian stocks not unnaturally formed the conclusion that the most objectionable part of the Report was not any criticism which may have been passed on the KHEDEVE'S administration, but the balance sheet by which the credit of his Government might have been tested. It seems improbable that the scruple as to publication originated with the English Government. Nothing would have been easier than to edit the Report in accordance with the everyday practice of the Foreign Office and of other public departments. Mr. CAVE, who has both official experience and knowledge of business, can scarcely have included in a document intended for publication any scandal which it might perhaps be his duty to communicate confidentially to the Government. There can be little doubt that the KHEDEVE himself raised the objection which he is supposed to have only adopted; and his demand for secrecy is the more unsatisfactory because the facts which are withheld from the House of Commons are not improbably known to some of the financiers with whom he has lately been negotiating.

No explanation which may be devised will acquit the Government of imprudence. The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, who in such matters commands more serious attention than the PRIME MINISTER, had already stated that the Report proved the solvency of the Egyptian Government. It is impossible to defend the non-publication of the details which prove the truth of an official declaration. It is certain that a fortnight ago the Government had not considered that the results of Mr. CAVE'S mission were in any degree the property of the KHEDEVE, either to publish or to suppress. Any mistake on the subject must have been caused by failure in the first instance to arrive at a clear understanding with the Egyptian Government. In the early debates of the Session the Government explained the origin of Mr. CAVE'S mission. The KHEDEVE had asked for the assistance of two English experts in finance; and it was not understood why a simple request might not have been granted or refused. Mr. DISRAELI and Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE were unable to understand the exact position which a couple of Treasury clerks might hold in Egypt; and they consequently sent a colleague of their own to Egypt with a regular and numerous staff. From that time the Stock Exchanges of London and Paris

have devoted themselves to the collection of gossip and of rumours about Mr. CAVE'S relations with the KHEDEVE, and afterwards about his own financial conclusions. The Report has been conjecturally discounted again and again on the general understanding that it was to be published, either as soon as it was received or on Mr. CAVE'S arrival in England. If there was really any sufficient reason for withholding the result, the Government ought to have anticipated inquiry by giving some plausible explanation of their change of policy. The unfavourable inferences which were drawn from Mr. DISRAELI'S injudicious language were inevitable, even if they were not well founded. A potentate much in want of a loan could, it might have been thought, scarcely object to an independent and trustworthy certificate that his creditors might safely trust him. If Mr. CAVE had arrived at an opposite conclusion, the objection of the KHEDEVE to publicity would be intelligible; but the English Government ought to have reserved its liberty of publication.

Although the Report itself is now treated as private and confidential, Mr. CAVE some time since communicated its substance to the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, who considers himself at liberty to state in the House of Commons his general conclusion. On Monday last he repeated the declaration that the condition of Egyptian finance was not irretrievable, and that the necessary practice of economy would insure the KHEDEVE'S solvency for the future. Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE added the remark that some change might have taken place since the date of Mr. CAVE'S Report; but the only serious cause of fresh embarrassment must have been the high rate at which money may have been borrowed in the meantime. In this respect also the English Government would have done a service to the KHEDEVE by an early publication of the Report. It is true that no advantage which could have been obtained would justify a violation of confidence; but there would probably have been little difficulty in obtaining the KHEDEVE'S previous consent to publication if the Report proved to be on the whole satisfactory. It is now stated that the KHEDEVE is prepared to withdraw his objection if the English Government will consent to be represented on the Finance Commission. It is highly improbable that any negotiation on this subject will be encouraged by the English Government. The mischief which followed from the announcement of publication and from Mr. DISRAELI'S subsequent statement has by this time been done. It is not the duty of the Government to provide information for speculators, or even to facilitate the contraction of loans which may perhaps increase the dependence of the KHEDEVE on French financiers. It may be conjectured that Mr. DISRAELI, when the mission of Mr. CAVE was first proposed, vaguely expected that the result would be an increase of English influence over the financial transactions of Egypt. The popularity which his Government had acquired by the Suez Canal purchase may have suggested further interference in Egyptian affairs.

More than one recent miscarriage in the conduct of Parliamentary business raises a doubt whether Mr. DISRAELI'S influence in the House of Commons may not be seriously impaired. He has for many years deserved the favour of the House by his tact, his temper, and his skill in the management of a party; but till his last accession to office he had never found himself, whether in or out of office, charged with the direction of a majority. His want of knowledge of details, and his imperfect sympathy with

public feeling, have become more prominent as his responsibility has increased. The strange series of blunders which he committed during the debates on the Royal Titles Bill indicated a fundamental defect of knowledge and judgment. It was peculiarly unfortunate that he should have disregarded the established understanding that the Opposition should to a certain extent be taken into council in questions affecting the Crown. In the discussion of the Bill Mr. DISRAELI had the good fortune of being encountered by adversaries who were themselves singularly wanting in discretion; but, except at the division, he derived no advantage from the general irritation against Mr. GLADSTONE and Mr. LOWE. Mr. DISRAELI's speech on the third reading of the Bill was at the same time frivolous and rash, nor was it certain that he was more serious in his wanton challenge to Russia than in his reference to school-girls and almanacs. In answering questions on Egyptian finance he has been equally trivial and equally imprudent. It would have been sufficient to state to the House that the proposal of a Joint Commission had been rejected, without adding the vague declaration that a more active form of interference might perhaps not have been equally objectionable. A more judicious Minister would have answered Mr. CARTWRIGHT's question by a simple statement that the publication was delayed until the KHEDIVÉ's consent had been obtained. Although the Session has lasted only six weeks, the popularity of the Government has declined, almost entirely through Mr. DISRAELI's fault. If he is well advised he will entrust to his colleagues the duty of answering questions on matters which they understand better than himself. The extraordinary mismanagement of the Royal Titles Bill, commencing with Mr. DISRAELI's neglect of the usual communication with the leader of the Opposition, could not have been avoided by any delegation of duties.

#### THE ROYAL TITLES BILL.

IT was impossible that anything very new could be said on the title of Empress in the Lords. Efforts were made by more than one peer to show that party spirit had nothing to do with his opposition, and Lord GREY has certainly earned the right to say that for twenty years he has blamed every Ministry with inflexible impartiality. Still, in point of fact, the debate was a party one, and Lord SALISBURY, with his usual incisive clearness, stated why the Ministry consider the opposition to be a mere party move. As very many of those who are most adverse to the assumption of the new title are not conscious of any party bias, and are not in the habit of approving or finding fault with successive Ministries merely because they do or do not belong to a particular political section, it is not uninteresting to understand why Lord SALISBURY considers their opinion in the present case to be of not the smallest importance. That the country is not adverse to the change Lord SALISBURY argued very legitimately from the very large majority by which the Bill had been supported in the Commons, and from the absence of petitions against it, or the artificial character of such petitions as have been presented. But then, as Lord GREY had said, any one mixing in society would find that nine men out of ten were against it. That this was true, or at least true to a very great extent, Lord SALISBURY admitted. But, he asked, why should a Ministry take any notice of what society thinks? Society, as its scornful critic says, is a very interesting body, but it has the characteristic of being in need of excitement. It happens that it is a dull time of the year just now, and so society has invented for itself the amusement of being panic-stricken by the notion of the QUEEN being called Empress. The whole imagination of harm arising from the change of title is the creature of the busy brains of club gossips. It may be useful to realize how much truth there is in this. It is not true as a description of the people who object to the title of Empress, but it is true of their number and importance. Those who object to the new title on the grounds of history and of remote political consequences are not at all fairly described as club gossips, or as mere echoes of a society in search of excitement. But it is quite true that the number of those who care about a measure being unconstitutional, and who attempt to look forward and see the distant fruits of bad precedents, is comparatively small. Lord SALISBURY is only using language which was freely used by Mr. GLADSTONE in the days of his supremacy. The number of those who objected to the use of the prerogative to reverse the

decision of the Legislature as to the abolition of purchase was small, and their criticisms were wholly ineffectual. The country did not in the least mind, as it did not in the least understand, that exercise of high-handed power. A part of the London press might object, but, as Mr. GLADSTONE said, he did not care about the London press. It was the provincial press which was the true and only guide of Ministries, and all he could say was that he was just as much the "People's WILLIAM" after the Royal Warrant as before. In the present case we may go further, and say that with a large class in the country the Bill is distinctly popular. The main objection to the Bill is that the title will soon extend to England; but very many people wish that it should extend to England, and will set themselves to make it extend as soon as possible. The LORD MAYOR has already begun to call the QUEEN Empress. There are many ways of earning a baronetcy, and this may be one of them. Portsmouth has signalized itself by an illumination in honour of the PRINCE OF WALES as our future Emperor. The clergy seem on the alert, and are beginning to enjoy the tickling pleasure of calling the QUEEN by a double title, as if they had got two half-crowns in their pocket instead of one. The very danger of the Bill lies in the title which it sanctions becoming popular. If people like to call the QUEEN Empress, and to give themselves the gratification of speaking of the Royal Family as Imperial, why, it may be asked, should they not be allowed to do so? In the same way it may be asked why, if people choose to live on their capital instead of their income, should they not do so? The only objection is that present ease will entail future pain. This is the objection to the Titles Bill. The Crown will be living on its capital. There will be more effusive loyalty than ever; adulation will delight itself with Imperialism; and even society, in search of a new excitement, may amuse itself with increasing fervour of prostration before its Czar. It will be thought natural that an Emperor should do things denied to a King. But then there will come a reaction. An Englishman is at once the most obsequious and the most independent of human beings. If encouraged to set up an idol, he will first get the handsomest idol that money can buy, and then burn it. Imperialism will be confronted with democracy, and it is not Imperialism that always wins. These are the objections to the Bill, and persons who have no party ties whatever think them serious and well-grounded objections. But, as Lord SALISBURY suggested with much truth, those who care whether at some period after their death England may be the battle-ground of a struggle between Imperialism and democracy are few, and the mayors and the clergy and the illumination-makers are many.

It was to be expected that some light would be thrown in the Lords on the effect which the Bill will have in India. There are members of the House of Lords who are specially qualified to speak of India, and both Lord NAPIER and Lord LAWRENCE took part in the debate. Both agreed that it was desirable that a new title should be assumed, to mark the paramount authority of England, that this was a suitable moment for the change, and that the change would be acceptable alike to the princes and the people of India. On the other hand, both agreed that it was quite unnecessary that Empress should be the title, and that it was a mistake to choose a title which excited opposition in England. But they differed as to the best substitute. Lord LAWRENCE adhered to what certainly seems the simple and effectual means of escaping all difficulty—namely, that the title which most properly, in the most appropriate Oriental language, designates paramount sovereignty should be selected, and that the QUEEN should be called by this title in India. Lord NAPIER objected to this on the singular ground that it was somehow unchristian. The QUEEN would be thought to be abandoning her religion if she took a title that had ever been borne by a Mussulman. But the QUEEN's new title must be translated somehow. It may be an objection to the particular word Padishah that the title was borne by such a creature as the last King of OUDE, or it may be thought that the natives would soon forget Oude and think only of England. But if Padishah is rejected, it must be rejected in favour of some better word; and whatever is the best word as a translation of Empress might have been used as a substitute for it. But, in point of fact, the question has got beyond the stage of argument. The Ministry hardly condescends now to reason at all. No references to the grand secret motive of the Bill as a challenge to Russia could provoke any



reply from a Minister in the Lords. It was perfectly immaterial to the Cabinet whether, for the passing amusement of the House of Commons, the PRIME MINISTER had invented one fantastic argument for the Bill or another. Perhaps the new title was a challenge to Russia, and perhaps it was not; but at any rate the Bill had been brought in by a Conservative Ministry, and was beyond discussion by any Conservative who did not mean to forsake his party. The most effective part of Lord GRANVILLE'S speech, which throughout was marked by great tact, good sense, and good feeling, was a demonstration that it would be entirely impossible to keep the Indian title out of English official life. Every writ, every order to the most petty municipality, must run in the name of the Empress of India. There was no attempt to meet this statement. The CHANCELLOR merely contented himself with repeating the general assertion that it would be only in formal documents that the QUEEN would be designated as Empress. That these formal documents would penetrate into every region of public life was a statement undeniable perhaps in point of argument, but one which might easily be passed over in contemptuous silence. Turks strangle consuls while they prate, and majorities can silence arguments by votes. We must, we suppose, take human nature as we find it, and own that all Ministries are very much alike. The Titles Bill is the Royal Warrant of the Conservatives. Unfortunately there is one difference between the two cases. The issue of the Royal Warrant was an isolated act, and its repetition can be prevented. The mischief of the Titles Bill will be permanent and continuous, and will not offer any one point at which it can be resisted.

A subsidiary discussion has been started in the Commons as to the absence of the QUEEN on the Continent during the sitting of Parliament, and it is so far connected with the Titles Bill that the spirit which appeared in the questions addressed to Mr. DISRAELI probably borrowed some of its asperity from the excited feeling which the discussion of the Title Bill has provoked. This is unavoidable. Imperialism has its losses as well as its gains. It has its unpopularity as well as its popularity. The exultations of mayors and clerical toasts and flattering illuminations will be answered by sharpened criticism; and sharpened criticism will be met less and less by appeals to affectionate reverence, and more and more by appeals to the necessity of swimming with the tide. The precedents for the absence of the Sovereign on the Continent during the Session of Parliament are so very few and of such slight value that no weight could be attached to them if the absence really needed justification. The objections to this absence are two. One is that the Sovereign, as a branch of the Legislature, and in order to aid in the due despatch of public business, ought to be at hand while Parliament is sitting. But this objection applies even more strongly to the QUEEN'S residence at Balmoral during what is always the busiest and often the most critical time of the Session. Balmoral causes all the inconveniences of Baden, and the QUEEN habitually goes there in May, whereas she is not likely to go often abroad. It is generally remembered that the QUEEN is not only a Queen, but a woman, and has to lead a burdensome life as well as she can, and that if her health requires her to go to Scotland in May, her subjects can only acquiesce in respectful silence. The other objection is founded on the old feeling that it is a bad thing for the Sovereign to be much on the Continent, lest alien habits of thought should be formed; and in the early days of the Hanoverian dynasty there was a constant fear lest the King, being a German Prince, should, by residing in Germany, become too German. This objection applies equally strongly to the visits of the QUEEN to the Continent at any time of the year, and has nothing to do with the sitting of Parliament. It may now be considered a pure anachronism. The QUEEN is not in the remotest degree more likely to become less English in feeling whether she goes to Baden or not. The very mention of such a notion shows its absurdity. That there are many inconveniences in the absence of the QUEEN during the sitting of Parliament from London or its neighbourhood is unquestionable, but it must be taken for granted that the QUEEN has some good reason for going, and the assurance of this ends discussion.

## GERMANY AND RUSSIA.

THE German press has in the last few days been much exercised by the news received from Russia. It finds reasons, and perhaps valid reasons, for uneasiness. It is indeed the thought of Russia that weighs down the spirit of every German who tries to forecast the future of his country. Over France and Austria Germany exercises perpetually something of the influence of a conqueror. They have felt her strength, and have no mind to provoke a new contest unless under conditions far more favourable than those under which they suffered defeat. With England and Italy Germany may hope to preserve a not very ardent, but still steady, friendship of that solid sort which is founded on permanent identity of interests. But Russia is at once a very close neighbour and an unconquered rival. There is a general presentiment in Germany that a Russian war will one day come, and that, if it does come, it will tax the resources of Germany very severely, while even victory can offer no prospect of advantage. For the moment, however, a war with Russia may be regarded as too remote an evil to press heavily on the German mind. Nor is it any prospect of the kind that now disquiets the German press. What is thought of is not a state of war, but the state of Europe while peace is preserved. The one absorbing aim of Germany is to keep intact that settlement of European affairs which she was able to establish by her victories of 1870. The great instrument of upholding this settlement, as Prince BISMARCK has over and over again declared, is the alliance of the three EMPERORS. Conflicts, and even differences, were all to be avoided by personal and friendly arrangements between the chiefs of the three EMPERORS. This system has been put in practice, and has proved by no means unsuccessful. There have, indeed, been some little rufflings of the smooth surface. The German press was last autumn allowed to menace Austria with rather more freedom than seemed compatible with a friendly and equal alliance; and Prince GORTCHAKOFF went a little out of his way to claim the success of the efforts made by Russia to preserve peace last May as a diplomatic victory over Prince BISMARCK. But these are slight things, and Prince BISMARCK has been able to announce to his countrymen at periodical intervals that everything was going on well, that the EMPERORS were the best friends in the world, and that peace was assured. The ANDREASSY Note may be looked on as the latest embodiment of the policy on which the Alliance was founded. Difficulties were to be avoided by the three allied Powers taking the matter of the Turkish insurrection into their own hands, settling precisely what was to be done, and then announcing their decision to the Porte, after inviting the assent of the more remote Powers. Sensible Germans did not of course expect that a mere Note and a few Turkish promises would end an insurrection. That must really depend on what those on the scene or near it were prepared practically to do. But the concert of the allies which had enabled them to decide on one common step might enable them to take others also as events might require. Provided that the pillar of German policy as guided by Prince BISMARCK, the Triple Alliance, stood firm, it did not seem to make much difference how the quarrel between the Porte and the insurgents ended.

Suddenly a piece of news has arrived which has deeply agitated Germany. It is said that the Emperor ALEXANDER is weary of the heavy burden of power, and wishes to resign his sovereignty into the hands of his son. As a preliminary it is stated that he will shortly leave Russia for Ems, and make his son Regent during his absence, with full powers. What makes this important to Germany is that the Triple Alliance was in a great measure based on the personal regard of the CZAR for the German EMPEROR, to whom he is connected by family ties the force of which cannot be equally felt by a member of another generation. The Emperor ALEXANDER, too, is believed to hate war. He began his reign amid the miseries of the Crimean struggle, and he learnt the lesson of moderation which the war was meant to teach his father. He has indeed found an outlet for the energies and ambition of his subjects in the extension of his Asiatic territories; but the great events of his reign have been peaceful changes and internal reforms. His son, on the other hand, is commonly supposed to incline to what are called the views of Young Russia—that is, to a policy which aims at crushing into a common form of complete Russification all the few remains of

internal independence, and at extending by all means, and even at the risk of war, the paramount influence, and perhaps the direct dominion, of Russia over the Christian populations in the Turkish Empire. How keenly the Germans feel the possible consequences of a change in the direction of Russian policy may be gathered from the feverish eagerness with which it is debated whether the CZAREWITCH is really so much the enemy of Germany as is supposed; and it has even been discussed what amount of influence his wife is likely to exercise over him, and whether the Princess DAGMAR will set herself to redress the wrongs and avenge the humiliation of Denmark. These are in part the idle disquisitions of people in a panic. Great nations do not suddenly change their policy because a lady is sorry for the misfortunes of her father; and heirs-apparent, as long experience may have convinced Englishmen, by no means follow on the throne the counsels to which they listened with pleasure in their days of expectancy. Even if the Young Russians are the friends of the CZAREWITCH now, he may hereafter throw them over as quietly and completely as GEORGE IV. threw over the Whigs. But the Germans are probably right in attaching much more importance to personal influence in the countries with which they have immediately to deal than we should be inclined to do with our modern English notions. The Emperor NICHOLAS personally invented the Crimean War, just as the Emperor NAPOLEON personally invented the War of 1870. The alliance of the three EMPERORS is no doubt founded in a great measure on the real interests of the three nations concerned; but it is also in a great degree founded on the personal influence of Prince BISMARCK and the personal dispositions of the Emperor ALEXANDER. If the alliance were endangered, and were found not to be answering its purposes, Prince BISMARCK would have to look out for a new basis for his foreign policy; and the mere notion of Prince BISMARCK looking out for a new basis of foreign policy is enough to make Germans apprehend that a time of trouble and anxiety may be at hand.

It is impossible, too, for Germans, or for any one else, not to notice that, just at the moment when the news of the CZAR's retirement, whether temporary or permanent, from the conduct of public affairs has been announced, a most remarkable change has come over the utterances of the Russian press as to the Turkish insurrection. It would seem as if Russia now meant to say that her patience was exhausted, and that she really must at length show herself in her real character as the one trustworthy friend of oppressed Turkish Christians. Even an official paper announces that the dangerous position of the insurgents is to be attributed to Austria's unhappy partiality for Turkey. This certainly is not much in keeping with the spirit of the great alliance of which Austria was supposed to be acting as the authorized organ. What would Prince BISMARCK say if an Austrian official journal announced that the difficulties of the situation were much aggravated by the unhappy solicitude of Germany for the interests of Prince CHARLES of Roumania? When a Russian official paper speaks in this way, it is not surprising that journals which less compromise the Government should follow eagerly in the same path. One journal proposes that the Turks should retire from Herzegovina, and the province be handed over to Montenegro, and it very kindly invites the co-operation of England for the attainment of this desirable end. We may remark in passing that the Russian press still speaks with studied admiration of the boldness of England in what is called laying its hands on Egypt, as this is thought to be a good precedent for other people to follow; but it is considered to be a sad descent when it is proposed to frighten Russia by calling the QUEEN an Empress. Other journals assure those subjects of Turkey who have not as yet joined the insurrection, but may feel inclined to do so, that although Russia may not for the moment see its way to giving them active assistance, it will take care that no other Power interferes with them. In other words, the natural desire of Austria to keep things quiet shall be effectually controlled, so far as they are concerned. This may be a mere momentary and insignificant effervescence of the Russian press; but it is also possible that it may mean much more. It may be an indication that Russia is prepared to break away from the alliance and act for herself. Russian journals could not say such things unless they were permitted to say them, and it would not be possible to say them unless some persons with great influence

wished they should be said. As this has taken place at the moment when the withdrawal of the EMPEROR from the seat of Government is announced, it cannot be called unnatural or fanciful in Germany to connect the two things together, and to suppose that the EMPEROR retires because he finds he cannot combat a policy to which he is opposed, or which he is personally engaged not to favour; and if this supposition is correct, it must be admitted that the Germans are quite right in apprehending that events of a very serious character may be at hand.

#### THE IRISH DEBATES OF THE WEEK.

THE division on the Irish Borough Franchise Resolution was more instructive than the debate. The 166 members who voted with Mr. MELDON probably included in their number all, and more than all, of those who approved of the motion. The Government was only able to command the petty majority of 13 against a measure which is disliked by all their supporters and by a large section of the Opposition. Since the intermittent process of reduction of the franchise first commenced, it has been difficult and invidious to resist each successive change; and in the present case the demand for an assimilation of the Irish to the English franchise is both plausible and scarcely susceptible of a plausible answer. In reply to one of the opponents of the motion Mr. BRIGHT said, with perfect truth, that the same reasons have been urged against household suffrage in England. It had in the controversy of 1866 and 1867 often been observed that an existing constituency was in a certain sense disfranchised when it was reinforced by a larger number of voters of a class previously excluded from voting. It is also fair to ask Parliament to maintain its consistency by once more overruling an unpopular argument. One of the Irish speakers in the debate felicitously referred to Norwich in illustration of the advantage of promiscuous enfranchisement. As he forcibly contended, the Irish householders could not be more corrupt than the new electors of Norwich; and it was at least possible that they might be less eager to sell their votes. The utter indifference with which the proposal is apparently regarded by the small borough householders of Ireland proves that they have not, up to this time, looked forward to a profitable mode of exercising the franchise. Commonplaces about the integrity of the poor are not especially convincing; but few members like to denounce, especially without proof, the weaknesses of any class of the community. It is possible that bribery may not be the evil which is most to be apprehended from an extension of the borough constituencies of Ireland.

LORD MAYO in his Irish Reform Bill of 1868 adopted the 4*l.* rating franchise with the approval or acquiescence of both Parliamentary parties. The difference between the Irish and the English franchise was defended on the ground that the poorer residents of Irish boroughs are lower in the social scale than ordinary English householders. Mr. BRIGHT indeed ingeniously argued that, in consequence of the low rents of Irish houses in towns, a house rated at 4*l.* might be as good as a 6*l.* or 8*l.* house in an English borough. If the majority of the unenfranchised householders were actually rented at 4*l.*, Mr. BRIGHT's argument would be difficult to answer; but a previous speaker had explained that houses ranged downward from 4*l.* to rents of a few shillings. It is impossible to deny that all considerations of symmetry are on the side of Mr. MELDON and his allies; nor is ostensible equality or uniformity a small merit in legislation. It is necessary in a free country not only to pass good laws, but to make their goodness generally intelligible. As household suffrage is irrevocably established in England until it is superseded by some wider franchise, the Irish may be easily persuaded that their more limited suffrage involves an injustice to those who are excluded. It is only surprising that the Home Rule members have not raised a more formidable agitation against an ostensible anomaly. One explanation of their neglect or failure may be the comparative insignificance of Irish boroughs. There are only three or four large towns in Ireland; and it was stated in the course of the debate that they contain an overwhelming proportion of the whole borough constituency. The proportion of voters in the large towns and the rest of the boroughs would not be greatly altered if household suffrage were substituted for the present rating; but the borough constituencies, which would long since have been abolished if



they had been in England, may perhaps look more presentable when their actual numbers are increased.

It has been not unreasonably suggested that the best mode of removing the anomalies disclosed in the debate would be to abolish borough representation in Ireland, except for three or four towns; and to merge the constituencies in the counties. The defect of the scheme is that it would involve larger changes than those which were proposed by Mr. MELDON. It would also create a remarkable contrast between Great Britain and Ireland; and the Home Rule party would consequently be furnished with a new pretext for agitation. Half the population of England live in towns, and the boroughs are represented more largely than the counties. Conventional justice requires the assumption that there is the same proportion of towns in Ireland; and, by lowering the franchise, they may be made to appear comparatively populous. If the counties returned nearly all the members, the borough constituencies would complain that their former franchise was raised, unless, indeed, household suffrage were extended to the counties, while it is not yet established in England. A simpler mode of satisfying the demand of the Home Rule members would be to grant their request. The narrow majority of Tuesday last against the motion of a private member may be considered as a defeat of the opponents of the proposal; and if the opinion of the House is not changed when it is again introduced in a future Session, the Government of the day may fairly give way. It is consoling to reflect that the borough representation cannot be greatly deteriorated, except perhaps in two or three constituencies where the lower class of the population includes a large proportion of Roman Catholics. It matters little whether the Home Rule party is reinforced by a few recruits, while, on the other hand, it would be deprived of an ostensible grievance. The whole question would be uninteresting if the division were not ominous of the future reception by Parliament of more serious proposals for rendering the electoral system more democratic. Members are always unwilling to profess an unfavourable opinion of the electoral qualifications of a possible constituency.

The question whether the extension of the franchise would raise the character of the representatives or promote the good government of the kingdom had little interest for the supporters of the motion. Mr. BRIGHT, indeed, believes in the comfortable doctrine that the suffrage is good for the electors, if not for the country which they indirectly govern; but, on the whole, the value of machinery is most satisfactorily tested by investigation of its fitness for its purpose. That toothed wheels and cylinders and levers are interesting or beautiful in themselves is to a scientific observer a secondary consideration. The motion and debate of Wednesday furnished a valuable illustration of the tendency of the proposal of Tuesday. There is no doubt that every householder who would be enfranchised by Mr. MELDON's project would support candidates pledged to Mr. BUTT's scheme of spoliation and to its future extension. The poorer classes, indeed, in Irish boroughs are not generally occupiers of land; and their chances of obtaining farms, if they desire them, would be greatly diminished by the abolition of leasehold tenure; but whether the petty borough householders might be directed by the priest or by the demagogue, all their sympathies would be on the side of their social equals, and they would regard the landlords as legitimate objects of plunder. Mr. BUTT proposes to exaggerate Mr. GLADSTONE's interference with property by a measure which is altogether inconsistent with the rights of ownership. The danger of the precedent established by the Irish Land Bill was generally recognized; but a large Parliamentary majority, with the approval of the country, held that the evils to be mitigated by agrarian legislation outweighed the possible mischief which might result from a partial limitation of the landlord's rights. Mr. BUTT asserts, probably with truth, that the occupiers are still discontented; and he proposes to satisfy them by transferring the freehold in every instance from the landlord to the tenant. For the present, the owner is to be allowed to receive his rent, and even to recover it by legal proceedings in case of dispute; but no tenant is henceforth to be evicted, and the former owner will merely retain a kind of rent-charge on the land. It may be hoped that the Opposition will assist the Government in resisting a project which must be decided by votes rather than by arguments. No specious demonstration that a redistribution of land or other property would be beneficial can alter the convictions

of those who regard property as an ultimate fact. Communist institutions may perhaps be practicable, but they are not consistent with the laws and customs on which existing society is founded. Mr. BUTT and his opponents waste their time in controversy because they have no common basis on which they can reason.

#### THE FRENCH LEGISLATURE AND THE CLERGY.

THE elections have worked a greater change in the ecclesiastical than in the political temper of the French Legislature. As probabilities go at present, the new Government will have little difficulty in securing a working majority in the Chamber of Deputies as well as in the Senate. The revolutionary passions of which M. BUFFET stood so much in terror have been glutted by the appointment of M. DUFAURE as Vice-President of the Council, and of M. RICARD as Minister of the Interior, and it will be generally conceded that an appetite which is so easily appeased can never have been really ravenous. But though the Chamber of Deputies promises, socially and politically speaking, to be scarcely less Conservative than the Assembly, there is a marked difference between the two in their attitude towards the Church. In the Assembly the Left was as much hated on the score of its religious opinions as on the score of its political opinions. In the Chamber of Deputies the majority seem ready to take M. GAMBETTA as their ecclesiastical leader. The Government has already shown its appreciation of this fact by introducing a Bill to modify the law establishing free Universities, and in the debate on the Pontivy election the Chamber itself has gladly accepted his guidance. M. DE MUN, the successful candidate at that election, has been variously described as a Roman Catholic counterpart of HEDLEY VICARS and of WILLIAM WILBERFORCE. He is admitted to be extremely eloquent, and some even of his enemies would probably be sorry if the inquiry which has been ordered should result in the loss of his seat. It does not appear whether the clerical pressure which was undoubtedly brought to bear during the election was really needed to ensure M. DE MUN's return. It is not improbable that it was exercised *ex abundanti cautela*, in the conviction that if a thing is worth doing at all it is worth doing well. Perhaps the fact that his adversary was a priest made it the more incumbent on the ecclesiastical authorities to prevent their simple flocks from being misled by an impudent pretender. But for this M. DE MUN's name might have been well enough known to good Catholics to make his election certain; but when the Abbé CADORET came into the field the electors might have been puzzled to know on which side the sympathies of the bishop and clergy really lay. As it was, they were not long left in doubt. The bishop of the diocese canvassed for M. DE MUN in person; the Archbishop of PARIS canvassed for him by letter; even the POPE himself seems to have been appealed to, and to have allowed it to be understood that, in voting for M. DE MUN, the Catholics of Pontivy would be doing their best to soothe his voluntary captivity. M. DE MUN, who, as is the custom in the French Legislature when the validity of an election is impugned, defended his own cause, seems to have puzzled the Chamber by the excessive frankness of his admissions. To every accusation of having won his election by clerical influence he replied, in effect, Certainly; why not? The Bishop of VANNES had done no more than was necessary to point out to the electors which of the two candidates had his support. The Archbishop of PARIS had intervened in his favour, just as M. GAMBETTA had intervened in the return of one of the candidates for PARIS. If the fact that he wore a decoration conferred by the POPE influenced the electors to vote for him, were not the walls of PARIS still placarded with letters from GARIBALDI recommending his official candidates to Radical support, and might not the POPE's name be invoked in an election as innocently as GARIBALDI's? The French clergy, he contended, are not mere functionaries of the State. They are paid for the services they render, but they have not sacrificed their independence, and they had a right to accept M. GAMBETTA's challenge delivered before the elections, and to prove that Pontivy, at all events, is still thoroughly Catholic. The Church has been threatened on every side, and she has a right to defend herself with the weapons that lie nearest to her hand. In this case the weapons were Catholic votes, and it was

nothing more than natural that the clergy should do their utmost to ensure that these should be given to a thoroughly Catholic candidate.

M. DE MUN made a very favourable impression on his hearers, whose breath seems for the moment to have been taken away by the boldness of his line of defence. As the *Journal des Débats* says, the Left had not calculated on this entire forgetfulness of laws, of Concordats, of Organic Articles, of pledges given by the Holy See—this assumption, in fact, that a bishop is no more a public personage than M. GAMBETTA himself—and their want of preparation showed itself in their first attempt at an answer. If the vote could have been taken when M. DE MUN sat down, it is possible that the proposal for an inquiry into the circumstances of the election might have been rejected. M. DE MUN had managed to present the issue as a conflict between the friends and the enemies of religion, and though the new Chamber is very much less influenced by the clergy than the Assembly was, its members are not prepared to hear themselves denounced as Free-thinkers or Atheists. Even among the Republicans there must have been many who felt that to accept M. DE MUN's association of the Republic with irreligion would be exceedingly injurious to the success of their cause, since it would be to admit the very charge which their enemies are most accustomed to bring against them. There was scarcely a married deputy in the Chamber who would not have felt that there was discomfort in store for him at home if he had to tell his wife that the issue between the Republic and religion had been fairly raised, and that he had given his vote against religion. M. GAMBETTA's speech was exactly fitted to meet this temper. He argued in favour of the proposed inquiry with so much moderation, with so much courtesy towards M. DE MUN, and with such a careful determination not to confound religion with the clergy, or the French clergy as a body with the Ultramontane minority, that the anti-clerical deputies at once saw their way made plain for them. No one, said M. GAMBETTA, need defend religion, for no one has either attacked or threatened it. When the Left speak of the clerical party they have in view neither religion nor those who sincerely practise religion. Even among the clergy themselves there are many who regret that the defences which former Legislatures have set up against the usurpation of the Vatican should have been allowed to fall into disuse. It is not of these men, the true French clergy, that politicians are afraid, but of that ecclesiastical party which has Rome, not France, for its centre. In the Pontivy election the question of religion was not even raised. Both the candidates were Catholics; one was a priest, the other was worthy to be a priest. But the Chamber had a right to know, and was bound to inquire in order to know, whether these two candidates solicited the votes of their fellow-citizens with entire liberty and entire equality. By showing a calm determination to restrict the clergy within the limits proper to their functions, and to no longer allow them to make the pulpit a political engine, the Chamber would assert freedom of election, and restore peace to those who at present import into politics the party passions derived from their religious divisions.

If M. GAMBETTA could really effect the object which he thus held up to the Chamber, it would be cheaply bought by the invalidation of any number of elections. It must be remembered, however, that this object is very much more difficult of attainment than the apparently parallel one which Parliaments and Judges have from time to time endeavoured to secure in Ireland. It does not seem to have been alleged in this debate that any coercion was used at the Pontivy election. The grievance of the Left is not that the priests forced the electors to vote against their consciences or their wishes, but simply that they, being priests, did what is only permissible to laymen. They behaved themselves as thoroughly energetic partisans, and this, according to the principle which M. GAMBETTA wishes the Chamber to take as its guide, cannot be tolerated in men who have no concern with the affairs of the world. But unless M. GAMBETTA can succeed in moderating the language often used by members of his party, there is not much chance that the French clergy will keep themselves completely apart from politics. The distinction which he draws between attacking religion and attacking the political influence of the Church is as much disregarded by the Extreme Left as by the Extreme Right. It is possible that the clergy may be originally to blame for this confusion, and that it is their unscrupulous use of political weapons that has made religion so hated by certain

politicians. But this does not alter the fact that the clergy have at present good grounds for believing that, if the extreme Republican party were at the head of affairs, their religious liberty would be curtailed as well as their political liberty. Before M. GAMBETTA can make them contented with the part which he wishes to assign them, he must at least convince them that, if they do not meddle with politics, politicians will not meddle with religion; and in order to do this he must impose on the anti-clerical passion of his followers a bridle to which as yet they show but little disposition to submit.

#### LORD CARNARVON'S SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY.

LORD CARNARVON'S courteous and argumentative despatch to the Government of the Cape will not convert the local Ministers, because it is impossible to conciliate opponents who are bent on a quarrel. Mr. MOLTENO is consciously or unconsciously employed in reducing the difficult and novel theory of the internal independence of colonies to a practical absurdity or dead-lock. The experiment has only been tried within the last quarter of a century, and it has hitherto succeeded as well as could be expected; but a responsible Minister who devotes his energies to the object of taunting and thwarting the Imperial Government enjoys, among other facilities, the advantage of absolute impunity. Lord CARNARVON may satisfy impartial critics that Mr. MOLTENO is neither wise nor well bred, but until the majority of the Colonial Parliament is shifted, the Ministers may set both the Governor and the SECRETARY of STATE at defiance. The anomaly of a vote of censure on the Home Government proposed by the local Ministry is censured with dignified moderation in Lord CARNARVON'S despatch. After paying Mr. MOLTENO a personal compliment, Lord CARNARVON expresses his opinion "that it can only have been from a failure to understand the relations which must, both in language and in practice, subsist between the Imperial Government and the officers of a Colonial Government, that he overlooked the fact that the terms of his motion were such as are, to the best of my belief, without parallel or precedent even in cases which have been far more open to controversy than this can be said to be, and for obvious reasons are not adopted by persons continuing to hold office in the colonies under the representations of the QUEEN." Nevertheless Mr. MOLTENO will probably persevere; and there is no reason to suppose that his majority will decline to follow him. His complaint is in substance that Mr. FROUDE on many occasions attacked the policy of the local Government, while he was known to enjoy Lord CARNARVON'S confidence. It is useless to explain to angry politicians that, in consequence of the failure of the project of a Conference, Mr. FROUDE bore no official character. Lord CARNARVON reminds the malcontent Ministers that all his own despatches were addressed exclusively to the Governor; but he is not careful to disguise his full approval of the measures which were eloquently advocated by Mr. FROUDE. Opinion in the colony is divided on the important subject of South African confederation, and it will not be known before the next election whether the Cape is in favour of union. Mr. MOLTENO has exhibited some adroitness in substituting the issue between himself and Lord CARNARVON for the more important question of forming a Confederacy.

It will be a cause of regret if the most important of the South African communities continues to reject Lord CARNARVON'S moderate proposals. There is reason to hope that Natal, Griqualand, and the two outlying Republics will send delegates to the Conference which is invited to meet in London. It is not intended that the representatives should have power to pledge their constituents to any measure of which they may themselves approve; but Lord CARNARVON hopes that misunderstandings may be removed and difficulties smoothed by preliminary discussion. Although the various Legislatures will reserve the right of independent action, the nomination of delegates may perhaps be considered to involve an admission of the principle of confederation. If the Government of the Cape thinks fit to abandon its attitude of opposition, it may at any time take part in the Conference; but as long as Mr. MOLTENO remains in office he is not likely to profit by the opportunity. One important adherent to the plan of a Conference has been already secured. Mr. BRAND, President of the Orange Free State, is about to visit England, having obtained from



the Volkraad, or Assembly, full powers to act according to his judgment on behalf of his State. Lord CARNARVON openly declares his wish that "the two Republics may see their way on fair and honourable terms to resume their connexion with the British Crown, from which they were unfortunately separated many years since." The Imperial Government perhaps attached too little importance at the time to the ominous commencement of the process of curtailing the frontiers of the Empire; but the secession of the Dutch communities which now constitute the two Republics could probably not have been prevented. When the farmers first left the English territory attempts were made to follow them with a claim of continued allegiance, but their answer to the proclamations of the Colonial Government was a further withdrawal. The causes of the irritation which then prevailed have become obsolete, and experience has shown that all the South African settlements have interests in common. If all the provinces were independent States, they would almost certainly find it expedient to unite for various purposes, and especially for the adoption of a common policy towards the formidable tribes of the interior. The union may be as easily and as usefully accomplished under the British Crown, and, as long the colonies maintain a nominal dependence, it can be effected in no other form. Mr. MOLTENO's proceedings may satisfy the authorities of the Free States that the Minister of a colony is as fully at liberty to use strong language as if he were President of a Republic.

One among many reasons for urging confederation at the present time is founded on the untoward result of Marshal MACMAHON's award as to Delagoa Bay. It is believed that the Portuguese Government will make offers to the Free States for an access to the Eastern coast which would render their trade in a great measure independent of the neighbouring colonies. If a convenient route by Delagoa Bay is established, it would be desirable in the interest of all parties that it should be used by the inhabitants of all the neighbouring provinces. Although new democratic communities in all parts of the world seem to have an invincible antipathy to free trade, any influence which the Imperial Government may possess will be exercised in accordance with sound economic principles. Even protective duties will be less mischievous in proportion to the extent of territory which may be included within a common frontier. Large areas of country can bear vicious tariffs with comparative immunity from suffering, because internal trade is absolutely free. There are many objections to the juxtaposition of independent European settlements in new countries. The acquisition of the Dutch settlements on the Gold Coast, and the proposed exchange of territory with France in the same region, were suggested by experience of the difficulties which sometimes arise from too close neighbourhood when it is also necessary to deal with uncivilized races. The Kafirs of South Africa are warlike, and naturally intelligent; and their numbers are unknown. Their friendly or hostile relations with the Free States necessarily affect the interests of the adjacent colonies. Other causes of dissension have already arisen. The discovery of the diamond fields has given rise to a territorial dispute which urgently requires a settlement. The Government of the Cape has supported the occupation by English immigrants of lands which are claimed by the Free State. As Mr. MOLTENO and his colleagues impute the blame of encroachment to the Imperial Government, it may be inferred that the Free State has really suffered a grievance. Lord CARNARVON may perhaps succeed in effecting a compromise; and confederation would go far to render future collisions innocuous.

At home there will be little difference of judgment on Lord CARNARVON's South African policy. A Secretary of State for the Colonies who is only anxious to lead a quiet life may avoid or adjourn troublesome questions if he determines habitually to abstain from interference. Some of Lord CARNARVON's predecessors have encountered the occasional petulance of colonists by intimations that the mother-country could dispense with a connexion which caused more trouble than advantage. Others have, like Lord CARNARVON himself, encouraged a genuine, if capricious, loyalty by expressing on all suitable occasions the pride which an Imperial Government ought to feel in regarding prosperous and growing dependencies. Lord CARNARVON, not content with the mere forms of courtesy, has desired to mark his term of office by the promotion of a scheme

which conduces greatly to the benefit of the South African Colonies. The attempt to unite a number of provinces into a dominion which may hereafter become powerful and independent is not a proof of the zealous and usurping policy which Mr. MOLTENO perversely attributes to the SECRETARY of STATE. In ancient times it was thought that division facilitated external control. The charge of unconstitutional conduct which is preferred by the Cape Government shows how soon political systems may be acclimatized and taken for granted. Mr. MOLTENO perhaps fancies that the relations of a Colonial Secretary to a self-governing colony are as fully ascertained and understood as the traditional rules of the English Constitution. It seldom occurs to impatient colonial patriots that, as long as any trace of dependence remains, the Imperial Government must sometimes make its authority felt. It is still uncertain whether it will be possible permanently to govern great colonies and at the same time to let them govern themselves. The justification of a system which may seem paradoxical is that there is no practicable alternative. The control which still remains to the Crown must be suspended whenever it is seriously resisted. Long before responsible government was established at the Cape the Colony peremptorily and successfully refused to admit transported convicts. It will be still more easy to reject a beneficial scheme of confederation; nor has the Imperial Government any selfish interest of its own in securing a great advantage to the South African Colonies.

#### THE MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL.

IF divisions went by argument, the success of Mr. PLIMSOLL's proposal to substitute a system of compulsory survey of merchant ships for the system of optional detention which the Government wishes to make perpetual would have been secured by Mr. REED's speech on Monday. The real distinction between the two proposals is, that the Bill does at haphazard, and with the maximum of inconvenience to all concerned, what compulsory survey would do regularly, and with the minimum of inconvenience. The distinction which the Government tried to set up between making themselves responsible for the seaworthiness of ships and leaving the owners responsible has no existence. The Bill is a Bill empowering the Board of Trade "to detain ships provisionally for the purpose of being surveyed." If the owners are to remain responsible for the soundness of the ships they send to sea, what business has the Board of Trade either to detain or survey them? To hold a man responsible for what he does is to say to him, Do this or that if you like, but remember that you do it at your peril. If the Government care about consistency, they ought to strike out the clauses giving their officers power to detain unsafe ships, and prescribing a procedure for regulating their detention, and trust entirely to the operation of the clause which makes it a misdemeanour to send an unseaworthy ship to sea. All that the officers of the Board of Trade would then have to do would be to remind the owner of a suspected ship that, if he persisted in sending it to sea, and it was afterwards proved to have been in an unseaworthy state, he would incur certain penalties. To do the Government justice, they have too much regard for the lives of sailors to leave ship-owners alone in this fashion. Accordingly, they take the responsibility of a suspected ship off the shipowner's shoulders and lay it on their own. It is true that they proclaim all the time that no such transfer is being effected, and protest against the notion of compulsory survey as something altogether destructive of the principle of their measure. But the survey of a ship under the provisions of the Bill is in all respects as compulsory as it would be under Mr. PLIMSOLL's Amendment. The detaining officer gives the shipowner no choice in the matter. He does not go to him and say, I believe that your ship is not fit to go to sea; will you let her go, and take the responsibility of whatever befalls her, or will you make over the responsibility to me, and let me decide whether she is fit to sail? On the contrary, in the case of every ship which a detaining officer chooses to survey the owner has no choice whether he will have his ship surveyed or not. In fact, it is inaccurate, though convenient, to speak of compulsory survey in contradistinction to the survey provided for in the Bill. We ought rather to speak of systematic survey as opposed to random survey. As Mr. REED put it, "The Government

"do not say, We decline to survey ships and determine their seaworthiness. They undertake this duty; but, instead of taking the initiative, they wait till somebody brings to their notice the fact that a ship alleged to be unseaworthy is proceeding to sea, and then the Government, who now say it is not their duty to do these things, readily and cheerfully step in and do them." They will not relieve shipowners of responsibility of their own mere motion, but they are perfectly willing to relieve them of it at the suggestion of the man in the street. Why the Government should have taken up this position is incomprehensible. They can hardly hope to have conciliated both the shipowners and the public, inasmuch as, if the Bill is really carried out, the former will be subjected to all manner of annoyance; while, if it is not really carried out, the latter are certain to be dissatisfied. The only explanation is that they have a genuine admiration for the symmetry of their proposed legislation, which sustains them against criticism. It is to be hoped that it will prove equally efficacious in sustaining them against the unpopularity which is certain to follow upon criticism.

The means by which the Government propose to prevent unseaworthy ships from being sent to sea have now been in operation for about half a year, and the same newspapers which report the debate on the clause of the Bill which makes sending an unseaworthy ship to sea a misdemeanour report a trial under the identical clause in the temporary Act of last year. From the proceedings in this case, therefore, we may learn what kind of influence this threat which the Government think so terrible is calculated to exercise on shipowners. The prosecution was instituted by the Board of Trade against one HOWELL for sending a ship called the *Leader* from Plymouth to the Mersey on the 19th of November, 1875. The ship reached the Mersey in safety, but the Board of Trade thought they had reason for suspecting her seaworthiness, and caused her to be surveyed. She was then found to be "utterly rotten wherever she was opened," and the surveyors gave evidence which induced the counsel for the defence to say that he would not attempt to contend that she was seaworthy. The facts on which the prosecution relied to bring home guilty knowledge of the ship's condition to the owner were that the master and crew had been held blameless for abandoning the *Leader* at sea in July 1875, on the score of the proved rottenness of her masts and rigging, and that after this report HOWELL had never employed any surveyor to examine her, but had been content with spending some 50*l.* in repairs, which, as the event proved, were utterly insufficient. In fact, as the ship, after being surveyed by the Board of Trade, was sold at the "break-up price" of 105*l.*, it may be surmised that she was really not capable of being repaired. If these facts had been stated hypothetically in the House of Commons on Thursday night, we imagine that Sir CHARLES ADDERLEY would have said that this was precisely one of the cases against which the Bill is intended to guard. But the precisely similar Act of last year is plainly insufficient to guard against them, for the jury found HOWELL not guilty. Whether, in spite of the testimony of the surveyors, they believed that the *Leader* was seaworthy, or whether they believed that HOWELL had used all reasonable means to insure her seaworthiness, does not appear; but on one ground or another the prosecution broke down. And as this prosecution failed, the majority of them will probably fail. Perhaps this may be some comfort to Lord ESSLINGTON under the rejection of his Amendment on Thursday. The clause, as it stands, makes the sender of an unseaworthy ship to sea guilty of a misdemeanour, "unless he proves" that he used all reasonable means to make her seaworthy. Lord ESSLINGTON proposed to make him guilty of a misdemeanour "if it be proved that he made default in using" such reasonable means. The adoption of this Amendment would have destroyed even that semblance of efficiency which the Bill now possesses. The fact that a ship has been found to be unseaworthy is, as Sir CHARLES ADDERLEY said, strong presumptive proof against the owner, and it is no hardship to call on him to rebut this presumptive proof. If a shipowner is so unfortunate as to possess unseaworthy ships which he believes to be thoroughly seaworthy, it will no doubt be difficult for him to prove that he used all reasonable means to correct a defect of the existence of which he had no suspicion. But there are probably few shipowners in this melancholy position, and if there be any, the effect of the Act will be to encourage more frequent surveys. As regards the owner who knows that his ship is unseaworthy

and makes what he thinks to be sufficient repairs in her, it will be very much more easy for him to prove that he did such and such things than for the prosecution to prove that he did not do them. The bills for the work done will remain, and from them it will be possible to form a fairly accurate estimate of the extent to which the ship was repaired. If the work thus shown to have been done was obviously inadequate to the needs of the ship, there will be no injustice in condemning the owner. If it was presumably adequate to those needs, he may confidently count on an acquittal.

It is difficult to feel much interest in the further progress of a measure which is plainly doomed to be inoperative. We do not say that, if the Board of Trade are prepared to prosecute every owner of a ship which is proved to have gone to sea in an unseaworthy state, and to detain every ship preparing to go to sea which is suspected of being in an unseaworthy state, something will not have been done even by this Bill to protect sailors against avoidable loss of life. But it will have been done in the most cumbersome and costly manner, and even then the principal value of the Act will be that it has demonstrated the necessity for an Act of a different character. When the Board of Trade have grown tired of striving to obtain impossible convictions, and of wasting money on conjectural surveys, they will at last come to the conclusion that the easiest way of preventing unseaworthy ships from going to sea is to prevent ships from becoming unseaworthy.

#### NOXIOUS VAPOURS.

THE Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND has rendered an important public service in moving an address for a Royal Commission to inquire into the working and arrangement of works and manufactories from which sulphurous acids, sulphuretted hydrogen, and ammoniacal or other vapours and gases are given off; to ascertain the effect produced thereby on animal or vegetable life, and to report on the means to be adopted for the prevention of injury thereto arising from the exhalations of such acids, vapours, and gases, and upon the legislative measures required for that purpose. It is satisfactory to know that the Government is prepared to act upon this Resolution, with the exception of the part relating to legislative measures. The Duke of RICHMOND was very indignant at the idea of a Royal Commission invading the province of the Government in regard to proposing any new legislation; but he perhaps forgot the great number of Royal Commissions which are at present in existence for the express purpose of devising a policy for a Government which has got none of its own. The Slave Circular Commission is a striking illustration of this weakness of the Ministry, and it is certainly curious that, while so abjectly dependent on outsiders for advice on great questions, it should be so sensitive as to receiving a hint or two on little ones. It is needless to say that the Report of a Royal Commission does not commit the Government in the slightest degree. The advice may be taken or left, but it is usually that of a competent adviser who at least deserves to be heard. The Duke of RICHMOND perhaps thinks that on occasions when the Government is represented by three Dukes rolled into one it ought to be treated with more awe than when represented only by a Minister in the Lower House. Happily, however, it is not of much consequence whether the Royal Commission makes any suggestions or not as to changes in the law. The main thing at present is that there should be a thorough inquiry, and that the facts should be ascertained in such a way as to form a basis for legislation. It seems that in the first instance the Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND intended to confine his proposal to the Tyne district, which is no doubt bad enough; but he found that the complaints of poisonous atmosphere were so wide and extended to so many different kinds of works, that it was necessary to enlarge the terms of his motion. The Archbishop of CANTERBURY, who followed in the debate, was able from his own experience at Lambeth to give ample confirmation of the necessity for an extension of the inquiry. He anticipated the criticism that he was speaking for himself by remarking that he was not confined to residence at Lambeth, but could go elsewhere, and that it was the poor, and not the rich, who were the real sufferers in such a case. This is a very important observation, and goes to the root of the whole question. It is quite certain that no person of means who could afford to live anywhere else



would choose Lambeth for a residence; but there is unfortunately a very large class of poor people who cannot find accommodation anywhere else, and who have a right to claim some consideration. The ARCHBISHOP explained that he had nothing to say against the potteries, which supply a livelihood to a large number of the inhabitants; but he contended that manure-heaps, though right enough in their place, ought not to be piled up in the midst of a dense population to sicken and poison them.

This was a subject in which the late Lord DERBY took a great interest, and he was instrumental in setting on foot some useful legislation. He only started the subject, however, and it has since been found to require more stringent treatment. The Duke of RICHMOND, speaking on behalf of the Local Government Board, stated his belief that the local and sanitary authorities throughout the country already possess sufficient power to deal with such cases, and that, on complaint being made from any place, it is the duty of the Board to order an inspection to be made, and, if there is cause, to have the law put in force. There is, however, the DUKE explained, sometimes a difficulty in discovering exactly what gas or emanation it is that corrupts the air, and who is responsible for it. He also stated that, in various ways something has been done to render the operation of the law both more specific and comprehensive. For instance, the amount of muriatic acid allowed to be emitted has been diminished, and a competent inquirer has been directed to ascertain generally what nuisances arising from manufactures are dangerous to health, and how they can be abated. This inquiry is not yet concluded, and it is reasonable that the Government should wait for it before doing anything. At the same time, it is obvious that, if a process of manufacture is shown to have results detrimental to public health, there is always one way in which it can be at once abated, and that is by simply suppressing it; and there ought to be no hesitation in doing so when the case is clear. There is an idea widely prevalent among trading bodies, such as manure-mongers, bone-boilers, knackers, and other dealers in filthy refuse, that they have a right to carry on their business irrespectively of public convenience, simply because it is one which is profitable to themselves. The Railway Companies have in like manner an idea that the question of not killing people on their lines is to be determined by their own financial necessities. It is very much to be wished that Parliament should take up a strong and resolute position on these questions, and make people understand that no one has a right to jeopardize the lives or health of the community for his own private advantage, and that if his business infringes on public rights of this kind, he must either give it up or take it where he can carry it on under harmless conditions. It is a common plea in cases of nuisance that the nuisance was on the spot first, and population came afterwards; but it should be held to be a fixed principle that the population has a right to settle where it can, and that if population comes the nuisance must go. It is obvious that the conditions upon which alone a nuisance can be tolerated—that it is carried on in such a way that it does no injury to any one—cease to exist as soon as it becomes the centre of a crowded neighbourhood. Any one who goes by railway to a Greenwich dinner must know the atmosphere which is created by the bone-boilers and filth-collectors of Bermondsey, and which outdoes the wildest fancies of DANTE'S Hell. It is quite intelligible that at one time, when Bermondsey and that region was comparatively open, it was a very good place for such abominations. But when the claim is set up that population makes no difference to the rights of the proprietors of these places, it is necessary to ask what these rights amount to. Can it be contended that because a man becomes possessed of a particular bit of property he is entitled to use that property so as to render uninhabitable a large area of land around it, which belongs to other people, and with which he has nothing whatever to do? It is impossible to imagine a more preposterous proposition; yet it is a plea which is constantly advanced by persons interested in operations which are injurious to public health. It is surely no violation of the rights of property in land to say that such a use shall not be made of it as to be directly offensive and hurtful to the public. Even where bad smells do not kill people, they cause an annoyance which makes life miserable. It is usually only a question of expense whether there shall be any nuisance in this way or not, and it is no answer to say that the profits of trade will be reduced if measures have to be taken to mitigate or remove the evil.

Lord ABERDARE, who hankers after what he calls a middle course, admitted that a case had been made out for inquiry, but remarked that he should be glad to hear that the inquiry was to be conducted by persons competent to deal with it. This of course is an obviously essential condition of any interference; and there is no reason why it should not be fulfilled. At the present moment the difficulty is that, though the law condemns nuisances, there is great difficulty and expense in putting the law into operation, and nothing effectual will be done until some machinery is devised for enabling private persons to compete with the rich persons who have a commercial interest in perpetuating these abominations. Lord WINMARLEIGH pointed out, as the Archbishop of CANTERBURY had done before, that the chief sufferers are the poor, who have to live where they can. He said he could mention instances where whole villages and towns were covered with these noxious vapours, but the wealthier part of the inhabitants, who profited by the labour of the workpeople, were able to build villas in healthy spots away from the miasma, while the humbler classes were exposed to the poison.

#### MR. LOWE AND THE CIVIL ENGINEERS.

IT is to be hoped that the House of Commons fully appreciates the compliment which is implied in the fact that, when Mr. Lowe has anything sensible to say, he chooses the House as the place to say it in, while, when he has a display of ignorance or absurdity of any kind to make, he commonly chooses some other field. But it is hardly respectful to the Civil Engineers to pick them out as a class of hearers to whom any kind of fallacy may be safely addressed year after year. A Civil Engineer need not, as a Civil Engineer, have gone through the kind of research which is needed fully to expose the grotesque shallowness of Mr. Lowe's talk; but we might suppose that a man of eminence in any profession must have mother wit enough to see how one fallacy of Mr. Lowe's contradicts another. Mr. Lowe's hatred of sound learning reaches such a pitch that, so that he can say something to its discredit, something in praise of his beloved ignorance, it is wholly indifferent to him if the *Encomium Morie* of one year supplies the readiest of answers to the *Encomium Morie* of another year. It is not so long ago that Mr. Lowe was full of contempt for ancient Greece, and of admiration for modern Europe. This time he is all for ancient Greece, except so far as he is for ancient Rome, while he looks on the events which called modern Europe into being as a "hideous catastrophe," "a frightful gulf in the history of mankind." England, France, Germany, America, do unhappily exist; that Mr. Lowe cannot hinder; his only comfort is that "such a calamity" as that which created them "can never overtake mankind again." We certainly hope that Mr. Lowe is right; but we cannot share his seeming regrets that the state of things which existed in the third or fourth century of our era did not go on to our own time. As King Alfonso wished that he had had to arrange the creation of the world, so Mr. Lowe would have been well pleased to have been intrusted with managing the history of the world. On the whole, judging by the result, we are inclined to think that things have been managed better than Mr. Lowe would have managed them. We cannot calmly acquiesce in an arrangement of history which would have shut ourselves out from all share in it. We—we, that is, in a very wide sense—we, the nations of modern Europe and America, are, we freely confess it, mere barbarians. We did—we cannot deny it—come in like a "cataclysm" (we copy the hard word humbly) on that ancient and better state of things which Mr. Lowe would have liked to keep on. Still we have done something in our time. We have at least produced Mr. Lowe. And we have also produced the House of Commons and the Institution of Civil Engineers, in order that Mr. Lowe may have fitting fields for the display alike of his wisdom and his folly.

Let us then turn aside for a moment from the sad prospect of that modern world whose existence Mr. Lowe has not been able to hinder, and look back to those brighter times which have so lately won Mr. Lowe as their votary. Not a word now about the folly of thinking about things that happened so long ago; not a word by way of despising petty States; not a word about the insignificance of the petty slaughter at Marathon compared with the glorious destruction done by a "good railway accident." Mr. Lowe has turned Greek; to be sure, he has become a Greek of rather an odd school; still, he has become a Greek of some kind. He has found his hero, and his hero is one who was received with such worship at Athens that Mr. Lowe can certainly never speak disrespectfully of Athens again. Mr. Lowe will have nothing in any case of "small grammatical researches," of "bad poetry," of "execrable histories and biographies." "All this" is "rubbish to be read by the few and thrown aside by the many"; all the rubbish, we may guess, of Athens in the days of her glory. But Mr. Lowe looks with respect on the "extraordinary development of engineering talent" of which he takes Demetrius—we assume that Poliorkētēs is meant—and Archimedes as his examples. To be sure Mr. Lowe may seem to ordinary minds to be

a little confused as to his chronology; but a man who thinks that the whole course of human affairs has gone wrong may perhaps have the right of rearranging the particular centuries in any order which he may like best. Otherwise we might have thought it an execrable history, rubbish which did not deserve to be read even by the few, which should place Demetrius and Archimedes after Socrates and Plato. Yet this would seem to be the arrangement of things contemplated by Mr. Lowe—a better arrangement possibly than that which really happened, but still one which, when stated as a matter of fact, sounds a little startling. "It looked," Mr. Lowe tells us, "at one time as if the physical philosophers were about to carry the day. There was an extraordinary development of engineering talent in the ancient world—witness the names of Demetrius and Archimedes. But somehow the personal character of Socrates and the eloquence of Plato overpowered the tendency towards physical science, and people gave themselves up to hazy metaphysics instead of looking into the sources of nature to better the condition of the human race."

One might ask at this stage what Mr. Lowe has now to say about one writer of whom he certainly once knew something, one who managed to combine the study of nature with that study of mind which Mr. Lowe so despises, and to add some attention to poetry, which Mr. Lowe may perhaps set down as bad, and to history, which he no doubt scorns as execrable. Ethics, politics, rhetoric, logic, physics, metaphysics, even small grammatical researches, were none of them either above or below the mind of Aristotle. But, leaving this parenthetical question, leaving too the chronological puzzle, it is something to know the kind of man whom Mr. Lowe delighteth to honour, the kind of man whom he looks upon as likely to better the condition of the human race. We have him in Demetrius Poliorhêtês. Well, Mr. Lowe might have made a worse choice among all the Macedonian captains; he might have taken Kassandros, or Polysperchôn, or Ptolemy the Thunderbolt. Still, on the whole, one might think that Socrates did more in the way of bettering the condition of mankind than the great Besieger. There is no doubt that Demetrius was a man of engineering genius; so—to leap on to days after the sad cataclysm—was Richard the Lion-Hearted. As for their bettering the condition of mankind, we get a little puzzled, till the remembrance of Mr. Lowe's favourite railway accident again comes to our help. Men like Demetrius and Richard, in common with good railway accidents, certainly do a good deal in the way of bettering the condition of mankind, if by bettering their condition is to be understood improving them off the face of the earth.

But now comes the unlucky thing of all. Just as the world had this one happy chance of flourishing under the care of Demetrius and Archimedes, Socrates and Plato stepped in with their barren study of mind; and Socrates and Plato seem, in some strange way, to have been in league with Attila, Genserik, Alaric, and such like barbarians. This odd union of Attila and Alaric seems to be modelled after the type of Mr. Layard's classification of "Goths, Huns, and Vandals." Before we come to them let us try to make out into what age of the world—the world, as unluckily it really was, not as Mr. Lowe would have reconstructed it for the better—Mr. Lowe has brought us. He tells us that "it is not too much to say that, if the school of Archimedes had triumphed over the school of Plato, the frightful catastrophe which overthrew the Roman Empire and condemned mankind to a thousand years of barbarism and misery would have been averted." Applause naturally followed this; Englishmen are so fond of wiping themselves out of history that this proposal to get rid of them altogether by the help of Archimedes could not fail to draw forth the loudest of cheers. When people deal with millenniums, we must not ask too minutely about the years or the centuries; but we should like to have some little notion when the thousand years began and ended. But from the flourish about Attila, Genserik, and Alaric, we may guess that they began somewhere about the fifth century. Mankind then were in darkness and misery from the fifth century till the fifteenth, perhaps till the Medici and Pope Alexander the Sixth came to make them happier and better. Lord Chatham said long ago that the words "omnis liber homo" in the Great Charter were worth "all the classics." Mr. Lowe seems to be coming round to "the classics"; but he only comes round to the classics at the expense of the Great Charter. From that and other like works of ignorance and misery a greater predominance of the school of Archimedes might have saved the world. Mankind might have gone on under the beneficent despotism of the Roman Cæsars; the art, the literature, the political growth, of European nations and European colonies might all have been checked, and Mr. Lowe, if in such a state of things there could have been such a being as Mr. Lowe, would have been quite happy. Mr. Lowe believes that, if there had only been enough engineering, "that hideous catastrophe," the birth of modern Europe, "would have been avoided, that frightful gulf in the history of mankind" which contains, among other things, the birth of the English nation, the English language, and the English constitution, "would never have opened up." No man who has given any attention to those execrable histories which Mr. Lowe so despises will think this kind of talk worthy of any other thought than a passing wonder that a man of his ability can take a pleasure in thus making a jest of himself and his hearers. That Mr. Lowe can really have reached the portentous depth of ignorance which his words, taken literally, would imply, is simply impossible. The state of mind is a strange one for the student of human nature to muse upon, and that is all that can be said.

Still it is always pleasant in these cases to see a man fall into his own trap. Mr. Lowe would, by help of engineering, have kept the nations of modern Europe out of the field of history. Now a little study of execrable histories might have taught him that engineering was just the thing which was tried against those nations, and which failed to keep them out. Did Mr. Lowe ever see a Roman aqueduct, a Roman wall, a Roman road, a Roman bridge? Till he arose to teach us better we had always thought that in the whole life of the Roman Commonwealth and the Roman Empire, down at least to the beginning of the thousand years of misery, there was a good deal more of the old school of Demetrius and Archimedes in the world than there was of the school of Socrates and Plato. The lessons which those times teach is exactly the opposite to that which is drawn from them by Mr. Lowe. If engineering, if material force and mechanical skill, was all that was needed to keep an empire safe, the Roman power might have gone on for ever, and the sad sight in Mr. Lowe's eyes of modern European civilization might never have cumbered the world. According to Mr. Lowe, matter is everything and mind nothing. Yet the moral force of the so-called barbarians contrived to overcome the material force of the Empire, and, where it was not so, the consequences were hardly for the advantage of mankind. To Mr. Lowe Attila, Genserik, and Alaric are all the same. Yet one might ask whether it was for the general good of mankind when the Vandal kingdom in Africa was overthrown by Belisarius. A Teutonic kingdom at Carthage might have been better able to withstand the Saracen than an outlying Imperial province. The greater part of Spain was doubtless conquered far more quickly than Africa; but, while all civilization, Roman and Teutonic, was swept away from the African province, in the Gothic kingdom of Spain a remnant lived on which in the end won the land back again. We ourselves may perhaps ask, without the risk of being misunderstood, whether Mr. Lowe thinks the history of Eastern Europe a brighter and happier one than that of Western Europe. In the East the cataclysm was put off till the end of Mr. Lowe's thousand years, and then it came, not in the form of the Goth and the Frank, but in the form of the Turk. Here the very thing happened which Mr. Lowe wishes to have happened all over the world. The material strength, the engineering skill, the strong walls, and the Greek fire, preserved the Roman dominion, and kept off the hideous catastrophe, the gulf, the cataclysm, and all Mr. Lowe's other metaphors. Yet, if we are to amuse ourselves with his diversion of reconstructing the history of the world, it might perhaps have been better if the material and mechanical skill of the Eastern Rome had been somewhat less. If so, she might have received a Teutonic or Slavonic conqueror, who might have united the material force of the old Empire to the moral force of the younger nations, and so have kept out the common enemy of all. According to Mr. Lowe, the profession which he is extolling "has not only benefited its members by the riches they have derived from its pursuit"—how contemptible, then, by the side of it are the small grammatical researches, the bad poetry, the execrable histories and biographies, which do not so directly lead to riches!—"but has been the means of securing the world against the most awful calamity that could befall it, after a far advance in civilization a relapse into barbarism." Loud applause of course greeted this eloquent wind-up. And the loud applause doubtless drowned the thought, if it occurred to the mind of any one there, that the material "science, skill, and intelligence" which prolong the life of a decaying power may sometimes, by checking the advance of that healthy barbarism which is the infancy of the highest civilization, pave the way for the triumph of the darkest and most hopeless barbarism of all.

#### PRIVATE VIEWS.

TWO days of this week are annually devoted in London to the visitation of the minor studios. This yearly custom is very strictly observed, and people who have not the fear of the Decalogue before their eyes add a third day to the programme. Sabbath-breaking in studios is a shade less sinful than sabbath-breaking on the river. No awful warnings can be drawn for the Sunday school from the artist's atelier, as they can from the ball-room or the rowing-boat. No one has been drowned in Mr. Hook's most tempestuous sea. No one has fallen from Mr. Crowe's longest ladder. No painted ships have sunk in a painted ocean. But to our country cousins these visits are occasions of great enjoyment. When a little innocent wickedness can be combined with sight-seeing, so much the better. Sunday in a studio will have an almost tragic significance as described amid the depths of rural piety at home. Those dear, naughty artists in their velvet jackets and their short pipes will figure in many a fireside romance. Strange visions of Bohemian life, with its happiness, have flitted before eyes hitherto unsophisticated. Odd devices for tables and chairs, unlooked-for things of beauty, rare embroideries and ancient lace contrasting with old clothes and theatrical properties—here a half-burnt G. B. D. stuck in the ghastly jaws of a skull, there a daffodil hanging down its head from the edge of a piece of delicate crackle—such wealth, such poverty, such untidiness, such taste, are all new and wonderful to the country cousin. Private views cannot be had in the country. We may hunt there, and shoot, but we cannot see pictures before they are sent in. Pursuing wild animals pales beside the gratification of making a round



of the studios. The Kensington country, with its maze of newly-named streets; St. John's Wood, where every second villa is an artist's; the dingy but productive neighbourhood of Fitzroy Square—all these have to be mapped out, the exact addresses carefully noted, and traps of deep ingenuity laid for introductions, so that the day's round may be as complete as possible. No artist is so obscure that he may not be surprised by a visit, none so great that an introduction may not be obtained. Sometimes it is the prosperous man whose hit two or three years ago has secured him notice and commissions, whose house is daintily furnished, whose wife drives her carriage, whose children are walking models, and look as if they had stepped straight off his canvas. Sometimes the visitor is ushered into a great uncared-for room, warmed by a stove and lighted by a skylight, which serves as dining-room, dressing-room, and studio all together, and in which the great easel helps to conceal the camp bedstead. Woe unto the young man who has still a finishing touch to add. What terrors invade the rash painter who put out the face of his principal figure yesterday, and whom the fog has robbed of his last moments of work! Troops of strangers tramp through his gallery and shake his easel. Heedless ladies get into his light. The day is short in any case, and it is further shortened by his visitors. Few artists attempt to work, except in secret, during these last days, and it may be charitably hoped that all like the cessation of labour and enjoy the pleasure of seeing their friends and patrons.

With that delicate regard for the feelings of its clients which has always distinguished the Royal Academy above all other bodies corporate, little or no public notice is given of the important functions upon which the Committees entered last Monday. The artists, however, well knew that the first two days of last week were appointed for receiving the pictures of outsiders, and deep and loud was the wail with which this year the announcement was received. A week earlier than usual was the time appointed. A precious few of work was cut off. Much despair has been the result. Perhaps a few imprecations were even launched by misguided youths at the loved and venerable heads of their profession. But by Tuesday night it is probable that some four thousand pictures were safely lodged in Burlington House, and some eight or nine hundred artists entered on a period of comparative idleness and intense anxiety. It is well for those who turn at once to fresh work. In perhaps as many as three cases out of four, anxiety will only be relieved by disappointment; but the man who has least time for indulging hope, who is most occupied with new employment, and who is soonest back at his easel, will suffer the least when the arbitrary, and, it must be allowed, sometimes apparently unjust, decree is known. It is mortifying to the man who believes in his own powers to see inferior work preferred by the judges. It is hard for a young artist to show any independence or originality, knowing as he does that it will be called "eccentricity," and that his pictures will be rejected. He may know that he is right. He may choose rather to starve than to paint "pot-boilers"; but his strong consolation is in the private view. Then his friends and admirers circle about him; he hears candid opinions, sometimes praise, sometimes criticism; and, if he is earnest in his art, the sympathy and encouragement of those whose tastes he can trust is a full set-off against official obtuseness. It may be asked why does he send to the Academy at all? And, as a matter of fact, the greater men of the so-called "eccentric" schools do not send; and some of our ablest living artists, men to whom our posterity will point as conspicuous representatives of a great revival of art among us, never exhibit except in "private views," and are less known to the general public than if their lives had been passed in the seclusion of a cloister. It is, indeed, a subject of constant regret to all those who have the interests of our insular school at heart, that some of our best painters should hold aloof from the national Academy; nay, that if they could be persuaded to come forward, it is more than a question whether they would be received.

But the privilege of visiting these studios is one accorded very sparingly. The ordinary round of the present occasion comprises pictures of a very different character. The artists, too, differ like their pictures, and the studios differ like the artists. Here is the great Stodger, so celebrated by *Punch*. He has built himself a picturesque pavilion in a garden. Its walls are gorgeous with the tapestry of ancient looms, its beams bristle with mediæval armour. The family ensigns of the Stodgers—for Stodger is an aristocrat and boasts of blue blood—are blazoned in every window but that from which the easel is lighted, and the great man himself receives you at the garden door, offers you refreshment, gives you the titles of his pictures, introduces you to his daughter, and finally dismisses you with the air of an earl who had condescended to show you over Bareacres Castle. Of quite another class is Mr. Chrome Green. He paints landscapes in the country, and only comes to town for a few days for the private views. His house is almost bare of furniture, and you ascend what seems an interminable staircase. At the top Mrs. Green receives you. Green has grown faint with the smoky air and has run away into Wales, leaving his wife to do the honours. The studio is absolutely without ornament. No artist's properties are necessary for pure landscape. The fossil skeleton of an umbrella sketching tent lies in the corner. On the chimney-piece is a view of Llangollen painted during a shower. Beside it on the wall is chalked a sunset effect in black and white. The same scarecrow figure has served Green faithfully for many years, and he has no idea of discarding him now; and if you wonder to see so little comfort in the studio, you must remember that Green has acquired his greatness by abolishing comfort, by being able to

paint in a snow storm, or on the summit of a Scottish coach, or while sitting up to his waist in water, or on an Antrim peak in a north-east wind. At little Inigo Brown's, again, in Fitzroy Street, all is changed. Our friend has afternoon tea ready for us in cups of the most wonderful blue. Burnt sack in Venetian glasses with jewelled stems is offered as an alternative to the tea. The talk is all of rare hangings and embroidery, of precious enamelling and wrought-iron. You sit on a divan of the latest Parisian upholstery in a frame of the stiffest "Queen Anne." A heavy odour of perfumed cigarettes pervades the apartment in which neither easel nor pictures can be seen. A few dark screens are artfully disposed; and before you take your leave Inigo languidly, and as it were quite incidentally, wonders whether you would care to see what he intends to send in. Then you are shown the pictures you came to see; but the host has left you to receive another visitor, and you seek in vain for the interpretation of some profound allegory, and weary your eyes gazing into mysterious depths of dark colour and treble coats of varnish. Still more amusing, especially if you care to see pretty faces, is a visit to the fashionable portrait-painter. Not a rush through his rooms, with a glance at the pictures; here you must stay and wait till a few of his lovely sitters have come and gone, so that you may judge for yourself of his amazing talent in a most difficult walk of art, that of making a flattering likeness. The sweet young viscountesses want dignity. Dignity he gives them, enough for duchesses. Their mammas want youth and amiable looks. He makes them Madonnas. Of course he succeeds, and he deserves his success; but here, perhaps more than in all your visits, have you to encounter one constantly recurring difficulty. You must "say something." If through any defect of early education, or otherwise, you have the misfortune to be ruled by a conscience, "saying something" is often painful. If you are a country cousin you suffer doubly in this way. Country folk are supposed to be devoted to truth. How then can you tell Stodger or Inigo Brown that you like his pictures? You do not in the very least understand them. They are awfully mysterious to you, perhaps awfully ugly. It is well if you have no views on the subject of art. Then, indeed, you can take refuge in a new interpretation of the formula, "Omne ignotum pro magnifico." But should you unfortunately know your own mind, should you indulge in an opinion on art, should you think, as some do, that ugliness is sinful, or should you have an eye sensitive to want of harmony in colour—or above all, should you have been brought up with old-fashioned notions about pictures being painted to give pleasure rather than to give displeasure—it may be better for you to perform your usual devotions on Sunday morning, and to avoid the private views.

#### CAMBRIDGE ON ITS OWN STUDIES.

AT the close of the academical year 1875 a Syndicate was appointed at Cambridge to consider "the requirements of the University in different departments of study." Its Report has just appeared, and contains much important matter in the shape of appendices, in which the various Boards of Studies state their requirements in the way both of public teachers and of buildings. Without entering upon a detailed examination of the requirements specified by the Boards, the Syndicate think that they may be partially met (1) by an improved organization of the present inter-collegiate system; and (2) by the establishment of a new class of University teachers. We here see how widely and rapidly the system of intercollegiate teaching has grown, and we find some intimations of the course which is likely to be taken to give it greater organization. We must say, however, that what has most struck us in reading the appendices, which are full of information, is that the efficiency of the system has come very much from its freedom, and from the fact that those who are interested in the welfare of the men, the College tutors, have been left at liberty to work in an informal way. The teaching in a University must be such as the Undergraduates accept as giving them what they want; and what they want is determined by examinations. Hence it will be most important to bring the teaching and examinations into accord. The private tutor has come into existence by recognizing this need. The College lecturer takes rather higher ground, but he has to acknowledge the University examinations as embodying the intentions of the University. Professors have sometimes ignored the public examinations, but then they are themselves ignored by the students, except in the case of the natural and experimental sciences, where there is something to show. Looking at the elaborate system of lectures proposed by some of the less practical Boards of Studies, we think they must either have conceived that they could make students attend lectures by Act of Parliament, or else they must have considered the endowments only as professorships for men of learning, who in many cases, if the plan were carried out, would, so far as teaching engagements might go, be as little occupied as any of the holders of those idle fellowships who are shortly to cease to exist.

Each Board, except those of classics and mathematics, recommends a teacher of every separate department, whether there is any demand for such teaching or not. A conversation class may answer in some subjects, like History; but students seem to have lost the power of listening to a formal sermon-like lecture. Germany is cited by outsiders as a place where what is called the professorial system flourishes; but a little investigation on the spot dissipates the idea, and shows that there, as here, an experimental pro-

fessor of great skill obtains a class, while the literary professors are scantily attended. "I have usually a dozen or more students," said Professor Delius, the great Shakspearian scholar at Bonn near ten years ago, "but they are seldom the same two days running"; and Bonn students have got the same idea that prevails in England. "We can get all we want in half the time," say they, "from a *répétiteur*." It may be well to maintain in the University some person as an authority in each special branch of learning; but he must not expect to have a class. He must consider himself a *savant*, not a teacher, and should be chosen for his science, rather than for his capacity of teaching. These qualities are by no means commonly found together.

The organization of the system of teachers is only lightly touched on in the Report; but on this the practical success of the arrangement must depend. The weak point of what is called a professorial as opposed to a tutorial system is that the teacher has no personal responsibility for the pupil; he does not care whether he learns or not; he has done his duty in telling him what he ought to know, and he has done with him. The tutor (according to the Cambridge idea of the office) has an interest in his pupil; he has received him from his parents' hands; he or the college incurs disgrace from his failure, credit from his success. Hence, in any Board providing, teaching, or organizing study, those who care for the pupils—namely, the tutors—must be largely represented. The Boards which make these Reports have as yet been ineffective from failing in this respect. They have done as little as they could, and we can hardly hope that their present suggestions will go far to set up their reputation for practical wisdom. Their deficiency arises in part from their knowing nothing of the wants and ways of an undergraduate, and not caring much about him; what they understand is *learning*, not *learners*. It does not seem to have struck them that they are going to set up "mills without markets." The University is really a place where intellectual articles are fabricated to meet public wants. But the University can no more turn out a number of Naturalists or Orientalists when they are not wanted than a mill can turn out fabrics for which there is no sale. The able men wish to dispose of their abilities to the best advantage. If the youths do not themselves consider this, their parents do. They invest so much money in sending them to the University, and they look for a return. The tutor may say, "Your son has a great turn for geology"; and the parents will say, "How is he to get his bread by being a geologist?" The University in a certain degree makes its own market by its reward. You must pay people to learn, or they will not learn anything not wanted for professional practice. All this looks very mercenary. Young men, it is said, should love learning for its own sake; but young men are like their elders—they must have a motive. Do lawyers or physicians pursue their science for its own sake without regard to the profits? There may be one who does so out of a thousand, and so there will be one undergraduate in a thousand who loves learning for itself, apart from the interest of conflict and the hope of getting on by its means. Why should we expect more from young people than from old ones? From this it must follow that, if the Universities cease to make their own market by giving prizes, there will be no high, liberal cultivation in the Universities or the schools which are led by them, unless perhaps in the case of a few persons of private means; and the effects of this paralysis of culture will be no less calamitous to the country in general than to the places directly damaged by the change.

Whatever, then, the Commissions which are to override the Universities may do, they must see that a reward for cultivation is to be got somewhere sufficient to induce young men to do their best with their faculties. This is for the increase of the intellectual wealth of the country, and is therefore a legitimate application of endowments. The existing rewards are excessive in amount, but too few in number as compared with the large number of Honour Schools. Indeed some Boards demand such for their special studies. With some ten different branches, or Triposes, the rewards, even at the moderate rate of (say) 200*l.* a year for five years, must be alike numerous and costly on the sum total.

Money, however, will not be so abundant as is expected, unless the College system be altogether crippled. Very large sums are wanted in the Universities for building. The lecture-room accommodation for the present Intercollegiate Lecturers is insufficient, and the University towns are now so crammed with students that the lodging-house-keepers are in a degree masters of the situation; and the lodging system is showing its mischief more and more every day. To save money and build rooms on a cheap plan would be a far better use of college funds for some years to come than to retain about the Universities proficients in various outlying branches of science merely for show. Moreover, the grave question of "retirements" has not yet been considered. Tutors are no longer clergymen, and therefore they do not look to livings. They rate their expectations higher than they did; they will often be married men, and will not stay in the University unless they see their way to a good permanent provision. There may be no need of their beginning at so high an income as they now get soon after taking their degree; but they will look to receiving as much eventually as they would get at a public school, and, if there be not a comfortable retirement provided, the tutor will hang on after he is incapable.

The growth and success of the lectures given by Colleges in common show what may be done in a college—in fact, what cannot be done without something like it. There must be provision for directing the student's course and for seeing

that he has learnt what he professes to have been learning from the Intercollegiate Lecturer. The professor or lecturer does not know the undergraduate by sight, does not care for him, has no responsibility for him. The tutor has a personal interest in the youths who stand, or should stand, in a family relation to him. Hence in every college there must be, besides persons to maintain moral discipline and influence, others to whom the students can have free access, who can help them by advice as to their reading, who can resolve their difficulties, and who should give them papers to answer or essays to write, so as to see how they are getting on. In each of the disciplinary studies every college will want some such person, and each college should take one or more specialities, and provide a tutor to take charge of the studies of the pupils in the subject chosen. Moreover, the college must take full charge of the passmen. Without some such provision as this being supplied by the college, the students will get out of hand altogether; some will read in absurd ways, and many will turn absolutely idle—as must have been strongly felt and remarked upon by those who care to ascertain what has gone on in Germany. Such functionaries, we hold, ought to be actually resident in the college, and accessible of an evening, the only part of the day when an undergraduate has time to do papers or have them corrected. An undergraduate will not go out into the town and ring at the tutorial bell. Hence a tutor, married or not, must reside in college to be thoroughly one with his men; and here again we want money for building residences for married tutors—that is, for one at least in each college, and more in the larger ones. We are loth to run counter to the matrimonial tendency, but we would suggest that young men in other callings can rarely marry till they are about thirty years of age, and there can be no more hardship in celibacy being made a condition for holding such college offices as require presence in college, and would naturally fall to young men, than attaches to service in the navy on board ship. The incomes of college lecturers now commence at a high point, and scarcely increase at all; this want of gradation is bad, while of course the apparent wealth which is showered on juniors makes them in a hurry to marry, disregarding the future. If they began at a moderate stipend, and proceeded gradually to a higher income, they would be more nearly in the position of people elsewhere, and might be content to postpone marriage till they had acquired sufficient means. It is remarked that the requirements of the various Boards and others who represent departments of learning are exorbitant in the inverse proportion of the students who take to such studies. Those who represent classics and mathematics are reasonable in their demands and in their remarks, while those who have to do with abstruse subjects seem to think that the spreading of their particular subject is the *raison d'être* of the whole University. We must not be supposed to object to the providing of a teacher in some recondite language because he will have but few pupils. It is the very object of endowments to provide such teaching, because without them no instruction could be got out of the common run. But it may not be necessary to maintain permanently a teacher of such branches of learning. The University might often obtain all that it requires by subsidizing a teacher from elsewhere, who should come and give lessons three times a week in Cambridge. The Report throughout speaks of teachers and teaching, but if what it recommends were adopted it would really bring about an endowment of research. Opinion is favourable to this in the University, supposing that guarantees can be found for its being only given where it is deserved.

#### THE WORKING-MAN AS HE IS.

IN the political as in the financial world there are some fancy stocks which were a good deal run after a few years ago, but are just now rather at a discount. Among them may be reckoned the worship of the working-man, which rose to such a height during the last Reform agitation. In the cant of those days, the working-man was the perfection of human virtue and wisdom. Directly a man rose from fustian to broadcloth his moral nature began to decay, and his mind was suddenly corrupted. Lord Palmerston's good-natured theory about babies, that they were all born good and only became wicked as they grew up, was applied to the working-man. He was born good, and as long as he remained in his primitive state his instincts were pure and unadulterated. It is probable that some of the orators who talked in this way are now rather ashamed to remember it. Mr. Bright, for instance, when it suited his purpose, was very anxious that the Trade-Unions should take up political agitation, and suggested that Mr. Lowe's description of the working classes should be hung up in every workshop as an incitement, we hardly like to say to what, but certainly to something very different from moral self-reform. But Mr. Bright has since shown that he can see through the working-man, and understands the effect of the *residuum* at Norwich and elsewhere. The working classes themselves have indeed been at great pains to dissipate any delusion as to their superiority to the rest of the community in morality and intelligence. In the course of an unparalleled run of industrial prosperity what have they done for themselves? what gain remains with them? There has been a general rise of wages throughout the country, hours of labour have been shortened; but have the working classes really profited by these supposed advantages? The present deplorable condition of the industrial world supplies a



conclusive answer to the question. The increased wages have been squandered in drink, prices have everywhere risen, and production has been seriously diminished. At the present moment the working classes are practically poorer than they were, less fit and less willing for their work, and there is also less work to be done. And this they have brought on themselves by their own folly and perversity. When trade was at its best, and when the universal demand for labour secured good wages, they made up their minds to shirk work as much as possible, to keep down production, and to frighten off customers by exorbitant prices. Of course we do not mean to say that the whole responsibility for the collapse of trade and the continued stagnation rests with the operative class. There has also been recklessness and mismanagement on the part of the employers; but the difficulties of the latter have been greatly increased by the action of the men; and, indeed, scarcely any degree of prudence or foresight in the conduct of business would have availed to counteract the unfortunate temper of the men. In other walks of life, when people have a good market before them, they set themselves to make the most of it; but the working-men, under the dictation of the Trade-Unions, perversely chose this lucky period for an outbreak of idleness. Everywhere the hours of labour were shortened, and the workers took to "playing" with the time which otherwise they might have coined into money. Instead of putting forth all their strength and energy in order to make hay while the sun shone, they preferred to spend the bright hours in idling and drinking on the assumption that they would last for ever. It was entirely left out of account that the development of trade depends upon certain causes, and that if these causes are arrested in their operation trade must give way too. The root of the mania which has had such a disastrous effect on the material prosperity of the country, and, above all, of the working classes, is the idea that the amount of work to be done is a fixed quantity, quite independent of any efforts which may be made to encourage and stimulate demand, and that, therefore, the best course is to spread it thin in order to make it go as far as possible. As long as there is only a higgling of the market between employers and employed, the latter have no doubt a chance of securing a larger share of the profits without affecting the commercial price of the commodity. But, as soon as this price is touched, the effect is at once seen in a falling-off of demand. Customers cannot be coerced in the same way as employers, because there is always a wide margin within which they can reduce their consumption of an article or obtain it elsewhere; and even with employers there is a point where their own interest compels them to abandon an unremunerative speculation. There could hardly be a more glaring act of fatuity than the behaviour of the Welsh miners, who, at a time when they might have accumulated good wages against a bad season, madly gave up work, knowing all the while that the fund which they thus deliberately annihilated could never be recovered. The coals remained in the hands of the owners to be dug up at their convenience, but the time of the men was wholly lost to them. And the conduct of the miners in this case is only an example of the conduct of the Trade-Unionists generally.

There is, of course, nothing in what we have said which is not perfectly well known to all who pay attention to such matters. Yet it is well that the facts should be kept distinctly in view, not only in the hope that working-men may themselves begin to understand them, but because there are other people who, out of an honourable tenderness for the poorer classes, try to excuse and palliate the errors which they commit to their own detriment and that of the public. There was too much of this weakness in the debates of last Session, and there can be little doubt that the mistaken concessions which were then made, and the disposition to set aside the real and hard issues of the case, have had a very bad effect. It is not a question of the right of working-men to do what they think best for themselves, but whether encouragement should be given to what is, in reality, a conspiracy against free industry. Even when the Trade-Unions confine themselves to strictly legal methods of enforcing their false and pernicious theories they do immense harm. There is some confusion in the use of the phrase lower wages as applied to the incomes of the working classes. It is true that wages, in the sense of so much per hour or day, are being gradually brought down from the excessive point which they reached at an exceptional period; but the aggregate income of the workers is reduced only because, and in so far as, they refuse to work for it. In some cases, we believe, the miners have already discovered this, and have agreed to go back to their old hours of work in order to prevent a reduction of income; and there can be no doubt that those who have acted thus have done wisely. Unhappily the great body of working-men still cling to the delusion that it is possible by artificially checking production to make labour more valuable. The coal and iron trades are still demoralized by the inflated wages, shortened hours, and relaxed discipline of 1872 and 1873; and this is the evil which has now to be corrected. When a reduction of hours was first proposed, a great deal was said about the working-man's need of leisure to improve his mind, and the increased energy which he would put into such work as he did; but experience has shown very different results. It is certainly not surprising that ignorant men should not all at once appreciate the value of intelligent study or recreation, and it might be hoped that, in the course of time, they would make a better use of their new-found leisure. But it is not merely that they misuse their time; the main evil is that they are taught by the Unions that it is only by deliberate idleness and shirking of

work that they can force up wages. Many of the men have, no doubt, a love of idleness for its own sake, and when this is indulged it grows terribly, and is shaken off with difficulty; but the majority decline to work more than a short time, not so much from a dislike of labour as with the object of making labour artificially scarce, and, as they think, consequently dear. Within certain limits this may perhaps be accomplished, but these limits have long been overpassed; and what the working-man has to consider is whether he will be content with a small income for little work, or whether he will do enough work to yield a satisfactory income. From every part of the country, and in regard to every branch of industry, we hear the same complaint that the industrial power of the nation is more or less paralysed by the caprices of the men. Not only are shorter hours insisted on, but during the hours of supposed work the great object is to take care that as little as possible shall be done. A good day's work, as it was once known, is never heard of. The men dawdle about in the factory during their comparatively brief attendance, and take continual holidays. In some trades it is scarcely possible even for the most liberal masters to get their hands to stick steadily to work. As soon as they have got a little money, they go off to spend it, and come back in distress. They are quiet and subdued for a little while, recover their spirits as they find themselves once more in funds, and then off they go on other bouts of dissipation. It is impossible that such men can be good workmen. They have no heart in their work, and are constantly being corrupted by their bad habits and dishonourable evasion of honest labour.

It must not be supposed that we are drawing a sweeping indictment against a whole class of men, or that we attribute the misconduct which is gradually gaining ground among the labouring population to some inherent immorality on their part. There are, no doubt, still workmen who would be glad to secure a stable position for themselves and families by steady continuous work; but they too suffer from the spirit which is spreading among their class, and which is deliberately cultivated by the Trade-Unions. They are overborne by the wave of class opinion, and have to swim with the current in order to avoid being dashed on the rocks. It is the poisonous nonsense of the Trade-Unions which is the root of the evil, and the only chance of striking at it is by opening the eyes of working-men themselves to their own suicidal folly. It is possible that their recent experiences may have had some effect in this direction, and anything which shakes the ascendancy of the fanatics and adventurers who rule them will be for the public advantage. Mr. W. R. Greg, who has already done much to impress upon the public mind the importance of this subject, has just published, under the title of *Mistaken Aims and Attainable Ideals of the Artisan Class* (Tribner), a collection of articles which he has written at different times pointing out the injury which this class inflicts on itself by its foolish proceedings, and its neglect of the natural means of improving its position; and it would certainly be worth the while of any philanthropist to circulate this work, or at least parts of it, for the benefit of those whose errors and delusions it so clearly and decisively exposes. It is only justice to Mr. Greg to say that he writes in the interest of, and with a keen sympathy for, the artisans, though he does not adopt their point of view. In his preface Mr. Greg points out that within a recent period the manufactures of England have enormously increased; the aggregate wealth as well as the number of the productive classes has augmented in a vast and rapid ratio; the weekly wages of artisans and mechanics have risen from twenty to twenty-five per cent.; their instruction has been unquestionably, perhaps materially, improved; while they have also obtained an extraordinary increase of political power. Yet during this period "it is impossible to say that we can trace any corresponding or parallel growth either in their sobriety, in their treatment of their own wives and children, in the sentiments of friendliness with which they regard their employers, in the sense of justice and consideration which they manifest towards their fellow-labourers, in the sagacity with which they manage their own affairs, or in the wisdom with which they contribute to the affairs of the nation." "The working-men," he adds, "of 1875 (taken in the aggregate, and allowing for large exceptions) do not appear to be less easily misguided, less unwise in pursuit of their own interest, less blind followers to mischievous agitators and leaders, and assuredly neither less brutal nor less temperate, than those I lived amongst in 1850." And then he addresses himself to the latest outbreak of the conspiracy of Trade-Unionism against justice and fair play. He shows that in the movement against piecework they have not only displayed a curious blindness to the very elements and conditions of England's industrial success, and declared war on her prosperity, but, "what is far worse, have set themselves in opposition to the simplest and most obvious dictates of equity and freedom; forbidding men to do as well as they can or to work as hard as they wish; declaring that labour shall not be paid according to its real value; exercising an oppression upon more rational and honourable workmen than themselves, which few other people would endure at the hands of even a legal and established Government; throwing thousands of unskilled labourers out of work who have no concern in their quarrels nor any share in their funds; and without scruple, or apparently any sense of the adjectives by which these proceedings should be characterized, robbing the industrious man of his industry, the able man of his superior skill; and by the one and same step wasting the earnings of the workman laid by as a security against sickness, old age, or failing trade, and

the capital of the employer which should be spent in finding occupation for the artisan." Who can say that this picture is not a true one? Unfortunately, one of the chief misfortunes of the working classes is that the political power which has rashly been bestowed on them tends to a tone of sickly adulation and sycophancy in addressing them; they are bribed with flattery, if not with baser coin, and are apt to forget the conditions of the world in which they live. Still they are not without a certain degree of shrewdness, and it is much to be desired that such a paper as Mr. Greg's, "The Proletariat on a False Scent," should attract their notice.

#### THE NEW AMERICAN CHURCH IN ROME.

THE telegrams report the consecration on Saturday last, the feast of the Annunciation, of a new American church in the Via Nazionale at Rome, with considerable ceremony. Several bishops and clergy, both of the Anglican and American Churches, were present, as well as the English Ambassador and the United States Minister, with the Secretaries of both Legations, and many Italian senators and noblemen, and "the church was densely crowded by the *élite* of the English and American society in Rome." There was a procession of bishops and clergy through the streets, witnessed by an immense concourse of spectators. The service was entirely choral, under direction of the organist of York Minster—or, as the *Times*' Correspondent prefers to phrase it, "York Cathedral"—and it closed with an ordination, probably the first of the kind ever held in Rome. The church itself is reported to be a fine Gothic building, erected from Mr. Street's design at a cost of 30,000*l.*; and another, designed by the same architect, is to be built for the English congregation at a cost of 20,000*l.* Altogether no such display of Anglican, or indeed of any other than Papal, worship, has before been witnessed in Rome since the gods of Paganism yielded to the Cross. The Bishop of Long Island, who preached the sermon, appears to have thought "the remarkable occasion which had brought them together" one that called for a sort of public manifesto. And accordingly, after vindicating the civil and ecclesiastical right of his co-religionists to a place in the Eternal City, he proceeded to define the position they propose to assume there:—

Controversy would not be invited, but neither would it be declined if the interests of truth demanded it. This Church would strive for peace with all men, and the true unity of Christ's body. It would be concerned before all in maintaining the purity and unity of the Catholic Church and the written word of God, the unerring source of all that is necessary to be believed. But the written word of God must have interpreters. Where, asked the Bishop, is that interpreter to be found? Under what conditions and by what tongue does it speak? It was impossible for any living branch of the Church to be silent under the portentous conflict of opinions which these questions have excited.

After stating the essential points, upon which there is no debate, the preacher set forth fully the rival theories of infallibility, the extreme Protestant, the Romish, and the Primitive, and, lastly, he considered the attitude maintained by the several leading branches of Christ's Church towards the genius and drift of modern civilization.

We shall not enter here on any discussion of the details of the sermon or the ceremony; still less shall we follow one of our daily contemporaries in contrasting "pure and uncorrupt Catholicity" with the spurious "Romanism" which it is now for the first time permitted to confront on equal terms under the very shadow of St. Peter's. This is not the place for theological controversy; but a wider question, by no means deficient in interest, is at once suggested by the altered relation towards rival creeds and communions at its headquarters which has now for the first time been forced upon the Papacy. What may be the ultimate results of the change it would be rash to predict, though it is not unnatural to indulge in curious speculation on the subject. But that the change, in whatever light it may be regarded, is an important one, and can hardly fail to be fruitful in results, may be affirmed with tolerable confidence. And we may add that sincere Roman Catholics are the very last persons who ought to assume that those results will be unmixedly evil. Montalembert, if we may judge from his posthumous essay on Liberty in Spain, would have maintained precisely the reverse.

Protection has come in modern times to be a word of ill omen. But our forefathers thought otherwise. And history shows, what it is not at all difficult to explain, that of all interests the religious has most tenaciously clung to that now exploded system. We are not speaking especially of the Roman Catholic Church, nor would it be fair to do so. Those who first broke off from obedience to Rome in the sixteenth century were in general as little disposed to allow any differences of opinion as the Church they had discarded. It was only by slow degrees, as they began to split up into rival sects at issue with one another, and often found themselves reduced to the position of standing minorities, that they drifted from the necessity of the case into a plea for toleration which was afterwards erected into a principle; while the old Church, which still continued dominant in many parts of Europe, and for a century or more did not abandon all hope of recovering lost ground in the rest, was naturally the last to recognize the need for taking this course. So entirely is this the true account of the gradual progress of religious toleration that, as Mr. Mill points out, it has seldom, if ever, been practically realized, except when indifference has added its weight to the scale; and even now there are comparatively few religious persons, of whatever creed, who admit the duty of toleration without some tacit reserves, varying according

to the bent of their own most cherished convictions. Some *e.g.* are tolerant of dissent in matters of Church government, which they regard as unimportant, but not in doctrine, or at least not in the particular doctrines which they hold to be fundamental; some, like the late Dr. Arnold, would include all but Papists and Unitarians in their comprehensive system; others draw the line at a belief in revelation, and others again at theism. It is not twenty years since an Under-Secretary of State, when addressing his constituents about India, observed that, while "toleration was the great corner-stone of the religious liberties of this country," it was not to be "abused" by misapplying it to cases where it was really quite unsuitable; "it meant freedom of worship among Christians, who worshipped upon the same foundation; it meant toleration of all sects and denominations of Christians who believed in the one mediation." And therefore toleration of "the superstition called religion" in India had been a grievous mistake. Now this speaker, who at the time held a high Government office, and would probably have passed for a tolerant and enlightened Englishman, evidently held just the same view of toleration as that commonly ascribed to the Roman Church, though his detailed application of the principle differed with his difference of creed. There was to his mind no fundamental distinction among those who united in the worship of Christ, and he would accordingly tolerate all forms of Christianity, but no religions beyond the Christian pale. Rome draws the line, not at Christianity, as commonly understood, but at Catholicism, and would tolerate no form of heresy. There is a considerable theological difference between the two views, but in the principle of toleration, or rather of intolerance, they are identical. Both would allow freedom in matters of opinion merely, but would recognize no liberty of error in essential points of faith. Now we are not engaged here in examining the true grounds or limits of religious toleration, but are simply explaining how it actually came into vogue as a principle more or less consistently professed and acted upon throughout the modern world. That it may be justified, as a principle, by much better reasons than can be plausibly alleged to account for its historical development we fully believe, but it would take us too far from our immediate subject to enumerate and defend them now. One point, however, it will be much to our purpose to insist upon, which has a direct bearing on the probable consequences of the newly introduced rivalry of communions under the shadow of the Vatican.

The Bishop of Long Island, as we have seen, disclaimed any intention of using the American church in Rome as a focus of controversy and propagandism; and we sincerely trust that his wishes in this respect will be carried out. But two powerful communions like the Roman and Anglican—for we may confine ourselves for the present to these only—can hardly be brought into close and continual contact in the very centre and headquarters of the Papacy without exerting some influence on each other. And whether we regard one of them as in exclusive possession of the truth, or each as having something to learn from intercourse with the other, it will certainly be their own fault if the result is not beneficial. There can be no doubt, for instance, that since the Roman Catholic Church has been free to develop its resources in this country, without hindrance from legal penalties or restrictions, it has to a certain extent both influenced and been influenced by the great national communion which overshadows it, in spite of the jealous antagonism which holds the two apart. And it is obvious to remark that the same sort of almost unconscious interchange of reflex action may be looked for still more at Rome, where rival ecclesiastics are less likely to hold aloof from one another than in England, while the novelty and strangeness of a liturgical service not wholly dissimilar to their own, yet with marked differences, cannot fail to strike the minds of Italian Catholics who had scarcely realized the existence of any Christian worship other than that with which they are familiar in their own churches. All this indeed is too obvious to require being dwelt upon. But theologians on both sides may argue—Ultramontanes will certainly insist—that they have nothing to learn from their rivals. Be it so. We wish to point out that, even so, the withdrawal of "protection" may be of great advantage to the hitherto protected creed. When no freedom of discussion is tolerated, men are very apt to forget, not only the grounds, but the meaning, of their professed convictions. Their faith becomes, in theological language, material instead of formal—that is to say, they accept the letter without really grasping the purport and spirit of their creed. If our memory serves us rightly, Dr. Newman has somewhere suggested that this is often the condition of members of the Eastern Church, owing to the stagnation of all intellectual life among them. But surely the same may be said of many members of his own Church also in countries where it has been protected from all adverse criticism, and especially in Rome, where till within the last few years even books placed in the Index could not be introduced or procured with impunity. Creeds, however definite and however orthodox, are liable under such circumstances to lose their moral power; "instead of a vivid conception and a living belief, there remain only a few phrases retained by rote; or, if any part, the shell and husk only of the meaning is retained, the finer essence being lost." It does not at all follow that creeds and formularies are therefore useless; for, as the writer we have just quoted has elsewhere observed, they serve to enshrine and perpetuate the genuine substance of belief, and the full meaning, which has for the time been obscured or lost, may always under more favourable circumstances be recovered. It may be an exaggeration to say, with him, that "not one Christian in



a thousand guides or tests his individual conduct" by the doctrines he professes to believe; but there can be no doubt that in the early days when Christianity was put on its trial, and had to undergo the double ordeal of philosophical criticism and civil persecution, it was more intensely realized than is now generally the case. Doctrines which are coldly acquiesced in or quietly dropped in our own day were then, to use the words of a learned apologist of Christianity, "heard issuing from out the midst of the fire, and lisped by the quivering lips of women and children while writhing on the rack." Supposing then that the received Ultramontane belief is not only true, but the whole truth—which is, of course, the contention of those who most vehemently denounce the liberty of worship and teaching now established, in spite of them, in the capital of Christendom—it ought in the end to gain rather than lose by the vigorous cross-questioning and competition to which it is exposed. If it be objected that such views are unchristian, since unity, and not division, is the normal condition of the Christian Church as designed by its Divine Founder, a twofold reply may be offered, without at all questioning that unity is the ideal state of Christendom, and that it is right, so far as circumstances permit, to strive for the realization of the ideal standard. In the first place, we must deal with facts as we find them, and there is no reason to forego any incidental benefits which may be derived from the existing state of religious discord because it is not the highest condition and is encumbered with serious disadvantages. In the next place—which is still more to the purpose—the dangers of narrowness and stagnation of belief are far greater in the separate communities which make up a divided Christendom, and which are apt to become all the narrower and more intolerant from their isolation, than in a "world-Church"—to use a German term—necessarily embracing the widest diversities of national, social, and intellectual life. We may illustrate our meaning by a story told some years ago of a learned and able divine of what would now be called strong Ritualistic, if not Romanizing, sympathies, who visited Rome for the first time, full of hope that his lofty aspirations would find in that great Catholic centre their adequate encouragement and satisfaction. He returned, however, a sadder, if not a wiser, man, and his criticism was reported to be, what in his mouth was a very severe one—"Rome after all is narrower than the Scotch Episcopal Church." Will the zealous Ultramontanes who most fiercely resent the overthrow of the Temporal Power and all which it involves venture to assure us that Rome has found that narrowness an element of strength?

#### ASSIZES.

THE ancient system of assizes is likely to be greatly changed by the indirect operation of other legal changes. As regards the counties near London, whether properly belonging to the old Home Circuit or not, it is often more convenient to bring the parties and witnesses to London than to the county town; and if the courts in London can be kept open almost continuously, the choice of the place of trial will depend chiefly on accessibility. If judges are not employed in the country, they can sit in London, and accordingly one of the judges of assize who sat at Maidstone on Wednesday in last week sat the next day at Westminster. But, if it is easy in many cases to bring the parties and witnesses to London, it is also easy, and sometimes it may be desirable, to send judges to the assize towns; and as regards criminal business it is to be hoped that no departure will be attempted from the ancient practice of sending commissions of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery into every county.

For several centuries up to the year 1830, the whole of England was divided into six circuits, to each of which the judges of assize were sent twice a year. Previously to that year the Welsh counties and the County Palatine of Chester were independent of the courts at Westminster, and their peculiar judges and assizes were appointed by the Crown under several statutes. This separation of jurisdiction being found inconvenient, the number of judges of the Superior Courts was increased, and it was enacted that commissions should issue for Wales and Chester in the same manner as for the English counties. Since that date, therefore, throughout England and Wales, except in London and Middlesex, where the administration of justice was regulated by peculiar customs and Acts of Parliament, the assizes have been held twice a year upon a uniform system; and about the same time a third assize for the trial of criminals began to be held in the Home Counties. The arrangements of the circuits remained unaltered until 1863, when the county of York was severed from the Northern and joined to the Midland circuit, and some minor changes were made; and thus matters continued until the present year, when fresh arrangements, consequent on the passing of the Judicature Act, have been made of which the full effect has probably not yet been felt. The term "assizes" will still continue to be used, although its original meaning and the legal history which it embodies will gradually be forgotten. The ancient "writ of assize" lay for the recovery of lands or tenements of which a man or his ancestors had been disseised, and the trial or "taking of the assize" upon this writ could only be in the Courts of Queen's Bench or Common Pleas or before the justices in eyre at their septennial circuits. To remedy the delay and inconvenience thus arising, it was provided by Magna Charta that the judges should visit each county once a year to take assizes. A statute of King Ed. I. made further provision of the same kind by enacting that

the justices of assize for each county should be two sworn judges, associating to themselves one or two discreet knights, and they were directed to take the assizes not more than three times in every year. By the same statute authority is given to them to determine other matters besides those in respect of which the "writ of assize" issued, and this was the foundation of the jurisdiction of assize courts down to the present time. If a case arose in Cornwall, a jury of that county must come to Westminster to try it, and the sheriff was commanded to cause a jury to come accordingly, unless the justices of assize should first come (*nisi prius venerint*) into his county, as in due course they did. The old writs of *venire facias* and *distringas* continued to be issued down to 1852, and although the form of process was altered at that time, the idea which had shaped it still prevailed. The judge of assize was regarded as a sort of commissioner sitting to try certain questions or "issues" sent down from the court at Westminster, and, when he had tried them, the "record" with the finding of the jury was returned to the court, and the court when it sat next term, if no motion were made for a new trial, gave judgment according to the verdict. One of the most important changes made by the Judicature Act is that the judge sitting at *nisi prius*, whether in town or country, is himself the court, and not a mere commissioner, and he may himself give judgment if he thinks fit to do so. But, although the term "*nisi prius*" has become in its primary sense obsolete, it will probably be always used as a synonym for jury trials in civil cases, and a barrister who has aptitude for that kind of work will still be called "*a nisi prius* lawyer." Perhaps, too, when one legal member of the House of Commons wishes to sneer at the speech of another legal member which he cannot answer, it will still be possible to exclaim, "Let us get out of *nisi prius*."

The county of Surrey has been taken out of the Home Circuit, and the remainder of it, and the larger part of the Norfolk Circuit, have been formed into the South-Eastern Circuit, and we have now had an opportunity of observing how the business of this new circuit is affected by recent changes. At Lewes, the first place on the circuit, there was rather a heavy calendar of prisoners, and there were seven civil cases. The business occupied two judges three days each, and they were assisted during part of this time by two Queen's Counsel sitting as commissioners according to ancient practice. At Maidstone there was an average calendar of prisoners and four civil cases, and the work occupied two judges for three days. At Chelmsford, again, there were four civil cases, and all the business, civil and criminal, was finished in two days. At Hertford there was only one civil case and two days' business, and this is the last place on the old Home Circuit. At Huntingdon, on the old Norfolk Circuit, there was no civil case at all, and there were only five prisoners. The remaining places on this circuit are Cambridge, Ipswich, and Norwich. The county of Surrey, which has been taken out of the Home Circuit, has been provided for by a separate commission. The remaining portion of the Norfolk Circuit has been transferred to the Midland, to which part of it formerly belonged. Yorkshire has been taken from the Midland Circuit, and, together with Durham and Northumberland, it forms a new circuit called the North-Eastern. These are all the changes that have been made, and it may be doubted whether it was worth while to make some of them. The supposed reason was the saving of judicial time, but it would be easy to arrange that judges when not wanted in the country might sit in London, and in fact one of the judges of the South-Eastern Circuit has sat in London in the intervals of circuit work. Whether the old arrangements and names of the Home and Norfolk Circuits had been preserved or changed, the same amount of judicial time would be required to do the business. Whether four judges are occupied half their time, or two judges are occupied all their time, comes, as far as the public are concerned, to the same thing, because those judges who are not employed in the country may be employed in London. It seems, therefore, that the arrangements of the circuits concerned chiefly the counsel practising on them, and they would probably have for the most part preferred that things should be left as they were. It seems unnecessary to take Surrey out of the Home Circuit and then to send two judges down there under a separate Commission, just at the time when the judges of the Home Circuit would have been ready to go there under the old arrangement. In this, as in other matters of detail, we cannot help thinking that the Judicature Act has been worked with a want of common sense. It seems as if some changes had been made for change's sake.

At Northampton, which has been transferred from the Norfolk Circuit to the Midland, there were two civil cases and forty-one prisoners, but half of them were charged with larceny and might have been tried at sessions, if an adjourned sessions could have been held shortly before the assizes. When the judges come to an assize town under the usual commission, they are bound to "deliver the gaol"—that is, to try all the prisoners they find there; and in order to prevent their time being wasted on trivial cases, it is the practice in some counties to hold sessions, which are an adjournment or continuation of the last regular Quarter Sessions, in the week before the judges come. This practice might be adopted everywhere. The time of the judges ought not to be unnecessarily expended, and, on the other hand, their time ought to be available to try serious cases without that long detention in prison before trial of which we often hear complaints. To quote Baron Bramwell's favourite phrase, "It is all an affair of railways," and there is now no reason why justice with adequate theatrical properties should not be forthcoming in any county where cases are

awaiting trial. Even in the time of King Edward I. it was contemplated that assizes might be held thrice in the year, and as we have made such enormous increase in wealth and population since his time, our judicial machinery ought to be equal to as much as that. It has been sometimes proposed to constitute certain centres at which the assize business of a considerable district might be transacted, instead of sending the judges into every county. Without in any way favouring this proposal, we may remark that it would only be reverting to the ancient practice by which jurymen and witnesses were required not only to leave their own counties, but to travel all the way to London, *unless before* the appointed day the judges should come into their county. Before the circuits were established, the necessity for what was then a long and dangerous journey frequently arose. It is probable that when the circuits were arranged, and for some centuries afterwards, business was pretty equally distributed among them. But now there is a vast disproportion between Manchester with 69 civil cases and 64 prisoners and the chief towns of agricultural districts which largely constitute the South-Eastern and Midland Circuits. At Stafford there were 23 civil cases and 45 prisoners, and this number of prisoners is the more considerable because 50 had been disposed of at an adjourned sessions held immediately before the assizes. At York it appears that the help of a commissioner was needed in trying civil cases, and it is suggested that when the judges want assistance of this kind the official referees appointed under the Judicature Act should be available to give it. In cases suitable to be dealt with by those referees it would certainly be sometimes convenient that they should sit at an assize town or other place near the site of the dispute or the residence of the witnesses. Not long ago one of the judges consented to sit at a place distant from any assize town, but easily accessible from London, and he thereby saved considerable expense to the parties. This, again, was an example of getting the most in the shape of judicial facilities out of railways. The practice of joining the Queen's Counsel and sergeants belonging to the circuits in the commissions with the judges is almost as old as the circuits themselves, and there is another officer always named in the commission and called "associate" from this circumstance. The country gets in this way a considerable amount of judicial work done for nothing; while the counsel who do the work gain from it experience and reputation which may afterwards be useful to them. We observe that at Brecon there were no civil cases at all; but even there the single judge who takes the South Wales Circuit was helped by a commissioner. At Oakham there was only one civil case, and there were only five prisoners, and we remember to have heard that in the small county of Rutland there is some difficulty in finding tenants for the gaol. At Stafford the business was only disposed of by the help of two commissioners just in time to open the commission at the next town in the circuit. At Nottingham there was considerable business, and at Leeds there were eighty-six civil cases. It thus appears that at many, although not at all places in the circuits, there is a large quantity of work, and we would urge that it should in general be dealt with on the principle of bringing the judges to the business, and not the business to the judges.

#### THE PUFF PRELIMINARY.

IT is announced in the *Daily News* of Monday that "another addition is proposed to be made to the places of recreation in and about London." It is possible, however, that this intimation may not be received with the enthusiasm which the writer seems to expect. It may perhaps occur to some minds that there is at present an abundance of so-called places of recreation, and that what is wanted is not so much an increase of their number as an improvement of their quality. The Royal Aquarium, for instance, which has lately been added to the list, does not appear to have as yet contributed much to the enjoyment of the public or the fulfilment of the hopes of its shareholders. It has, indeed, been obliged to confess that its name is a misnomer, and that it is still unable to provide either water or fishes for its tanks. Its Picture Gallery, however, is in its way quite as much an imposture as the empty tanks, and it is a pitiful degradation of art to see an eminent musician "playing in" customers to the drinking-bars. It may be remembered that this singular institution was, as the reporters call it, "inaugurated by a *déjeuner*" presided over by the Duke of Edinburgh, and a dreadful rumour has since been spread to the effect that the exigencies of the banquet led to the mysterious absence of the fishes in the form in which they were expected to be exhibited. We should hardly have thought that this ill-omened experiment would have encouraged rivalry; but it appears that the new place of recreation which has just been introduced to public notice is to combine, as the writer beautifully expresses it, "the advantages of a museum with the interest attaching to an aquarium, and various other sources of entertainment," among which we may perhaps safely include a rink. "Baths of fresh sea-water, brought up by steamer every morning," are also, we are told, to form an important feature of the establishment; and it is added that "it seems to be, above all, the intention of the promoters to provide a particularly cheap place of pleasure resort." If the charge for admission, including steamboat fare, is to be only sixpence, the entertainment will certainly be cheap, though it remains to be seen how far it will be pleasant. It is needless to say that when any speculation of this kind is got up, it

is considered indispensable to drag in the memory of the late Prince Consort. The Duke of Edinburgh has stated that the disguised tavern he was "inaugurating" was a "natural result" of the part taken by his lamented father in regard to the Exhibition of 1851. And now, again, we find that the title of this new place of recreation is to be Victoria and Albert Palace; that the "site suggested"—so the project has at least got as far as the suggestion of a site—"is the one originally selected by the late Prince Consort for the Great Exhibition of 1851"; and that the building is "intended to be constructed largely of glass and iron, after the style of the Crystal Palace." If the persons engaged in this project desire to emulate the dismal fate of that unfortunate institution, they certainly cannot do better than adopt the same style of construction; but it might perhaps be well to ask what the latter costs for daily repairs. The *Daily News* asserts that "it has been found out, as a matter of fact, that people will not go out of their way to the British and Kensington Museums, and it is hoped to combine something of instruction with recreation on the convenient situation proposed for the Albert and Victoria Palace." It is no doubt a matter of fact that there is no beer to be had at the British Museum, though this is one of the features of South Kensington; and it may be supposed that the recreation offered at Battersea will be more lively than looking at ancient marbles and stuffed animals.

It will be observed that this project is, as described in the account we have seen of it, of a somewhat hypothetical character. A site has been suggested, an intention of building in a certain style is vaguely entertained; but the matter does not seem to have got much further. What the promoters appear to be chiefly in want of at the present moment is, we gather, "moral support." Indeed, the *Daily News* tells us that it was "with a view of obtaining moral support" that "the association"—whatever it is—"gave a dinner at the Ship Hotel, Greenwich, on Saturday to a considerable number of guests"; and it is of course needless to say that the reporters were entertained "in a style fully sustaining the well-deserved reputation of the house." It is surely time that respectable journals should give up this sort of puffery; but at least there is thus much to be said, that the dinner was no doubt real, while the project in honour of which it was held seems to be still, in a large degree, a matter of imagination. However, the Royal Aquarium had its *déjeuner* while its fishes were still, as they are now, somewhere in the clouds, and the promoters of this other Aquarium saw no reason why they should not also celebrate their scheme, though it has developed no further than "suggestion" and "intention." In this case, if the fishes fail, the tanks will at least be available for bathers. However, to return to the main object of the gathering, moral support was obtained by dining a number of Irish members, chiefly of the Home Rule party, who seem to have responded with characteristic enthusiasm to the various toasts. When we have mentioned that Major O'Gorman was one of the speakers, the good humour of the company will be understood. Mr. Roebuck, oddly enough, presided, and referred approvingly to the new title of Empress, which "was received with cheers," and it need not surprise any one that people who call a palace should relish calling a Queen an Empress. In proposing the toast of the evening, Mr. Roebuck said "he had been told" (he did not apparently mention who told him) "that they would have a magnificent structure on the banks of the Thames, near Battersea Park." He also "spoke highly of the advantage of being able to obtain a fresh-water bath for twopence, and a sea-water bath for sixpence, from which both rich and poor might derive great benefit." He is not reported to have dilated on the civilizing influence of aquariums, and he had the good taste to let the Prince Consort alone. There is, it seems, "a confidential Report" of the Company, in which a hope is expressed that the building may be opened in May next year; and of course it may, and may prove to be as magnificent as Mr. Roebuck was told it would be. Only it may occur to some people that it might have been as well to postpone the celebration of the event until it happened.

There is of course no reason why Irish or any other members should not accept an invitation to dinner at Greenwich, or why the promoters of a speculation should not invite their friends to wish them success. The question arises why an entertainment of this kind should be reported in respectable newspapers as a means of procuring funds for a mysterious speculation. When this Company is openly formed, and has published its "confidential prospectus," and is able to say that it has really bought a site and made a contract for the construction of a building, there will be time enough for the press to deal with it. Even then, indeed, as is pointedly demonstrated by the example of the sham Royal Aquarium, it might be well to suspend judgment until the exhibition is actually completed. But here are a number of people, who dine together in order to talk over a mere speculative idea, buzzing in *vacuo*, and it is put before the public as a substantial project. It is all very well to say that the promoters only want moral support, but they would be in a much better position to obtain this if they had opened their exhibition, and demonstrated in a practical way that it deserved moral support. If, after all, the Victoria and Albert Palace should prove, like some other undertakings of the same kind, only a public-house under a grand name, it may be a very honest and legitimate enterprise; only it should be left to take its chance like other shops and taverns. It is quite clear that the members of Parliament who attended the dinner had nothing more to go upon than a vague assurance that some speculative person had promised that a magnificent



palace was about to be erected at Battersea. It may be assumed that something or other will be done in this way, but it is impossible to say what it will turn out to be till it is actually in existence. If ever it is opened it will no doubt advertise itself largely, and this will be good for the newspapers in which it advertises. But it is surely a degradation of the press that it should lend itself to puff empty schemes on the chance of extending its advertising connexion. We have certainly no wish to prejudice the merits of this exhibition, or whatever it is to be; but this method of introducing it to public notice seems to us to be hardly calculated to encourage public confidence. At present it appears to be only an idea, which has found favour with a convivial party entertained at the expense of the promoter, whoever he may be; and it is certainly not pleasant to those who have any respect for the House of Commons to think of any section of its members lending themselves to this sort of tap-house propagandism. It is perhaps impossible to place any restriction on members of Parliament giving their support to any speculation; but there is a question of good taste which cannot be excluded from consideration. In the same way it may be worth while for the conductors of certain journals to consider whether they can expect to retain public confidence in their criticism of public amusements if they give up their columns to puffing reporters who are ready to sound the praises of any project, even when it exists only in the imagination of the inventors, and has not been reduced to a practical form.

#### LOSS OF THE STRATHMORE.

THE wreck of the *Strathmore* presents features which nowadays occur rarely. She struck on a rock in the Southern Ocean on 1st July, 1875, and forty-nine of her crew and passengers landed on one of the Crozet Islands of which the rock formed part, and remained there living in huts and feeding on wild birds until 21st January last, when they were rescued by an American whaler and put in the way of reaching Point de Galle. The ship was lost through miscalculating her position, caused by thick weather which prevented observations being taken. On the night of the 30th June, the captain thought he was about eighty-seven miles from the Crozet Group, but he must have been mistaken, as the ship struck about 3.45 A.M. on the 1st July. There was the usual confusion and difficulty in launching boats. On day breaking two boats were got off under the direction of the second mate, who, as the captain and chief mate had been washed off the ship soon after she struck, was left in command. The two boats went towards the rocks, which were seen in front about a hundred yards distant, rising like a wall several hundred feet out of the water. Late in the afternoon the gig returned and took away five passengers. As she could not return again that night, those who were left in the rigging passed another night of misery and terror. All their sustenance was a few biscuits, and they were wet and almost frozen. After daybreak the gig came back, and took them all off, and they joined those who had already landed. Besides the two boats already mentioned, a third boat had reached the shore. They found a desolate place, a refuge for sea-birds and without trees. The island on which they had landed was about two and a half miles long and half a mile broad at the broadest part. When they first arrived they slept on the bare rocks, but they soon built huts of stones and turf. They found albatross on the island and a sort of grey bird. They subsisted on these for some time, and then they had a flock of molly hawks. After these came penguins, whose eggs were a great luxury. Their skins were used for fuel, and also to make clothes and boots. The boats had been lost on the third night after their arrival, but before this happened they had taken from the wreck two barrels of gunpowder, one cask of port wine, two cases of rum, two of gin, one of brandy, and one of provisions, and a case of eight tins of sweets. The liquor lasted four or five weeks, being served out at first night and morning, and afterwards at night only, till it was reduced to a small quantity, which was reserved for medical purposes. The tins in which the sweets were packed were used for pots and lamps. A few matches had been saved from the wreck, and they kept a lamp, fed by fat from the birds, burning continually. It is seldom that we meet with a modern narrative of fact that so closely resembles Robinson Crusoe's account of the stores he obtained from the wreck and what he did with them. It may be thought, however, that he was made rather too comfortable by the author, who herein showed the way to those modern novelists who provide parks and palaces, landed estates and three per cents., costly pictures and splendid furniture *ad libitum* for their characters. The escaped crew and passengers of the *Strathmore* underwent much hardship, and, although the wrecked vessel contained provisions and stores in abundance, almost the whole was lost with her. The party arrived on the island at the beginning of winter, and suffered much from ice and snow. They had plenty of fresh water, and for vegetable food the tops of a tuber resembling carrot tops. On the first night there was one death from exposure. A young man died of lockjaw, caused by injury to his foot. Two other men and a child of three years old died, and thus the number saved from the ship, which was 49, was reduced to 44. When the ship left Gravesend she had a crew of 38 hands, and carried 50 passengers, so that 39 persons perished when she struck. Among the saved was a woman, Mrs. Wordsworth. A ship passed within two miles of them on 13th September, and three other ships were

sighted, but these either failed to see or would not notice them. The American ship *Young Phoenix* was cruising for whales when she saw their signals, and took them off on 21st January. Their feet had been made very sore from using albatross-skins to cover them, and, indeed, the fatal case of lock-jaw already mentioned is ascribed to this cause. The ship carried no surgeon, and the second mate, who was left in command by the death of his superior officers, does not seem to have been equal to the position, which perhaps is not surprising.

The situation of these islands may be roughly indicated by saying that they are in the latitude of the southern extremity of New Zealand, and due south of Madagascar. They were discovered in 1772 by the French navigator, Marion du Fresne, and were named after his second in command, Crozet, who informed Captain Cook of their existence. The nearest islands to them are Prince Edward's Island and Marion Island to the west, and Kerguelen Island to the east. The group is of volcanic origin. It was visited by Sir James Ross in 1840, but it appears to offer no temptation for settlement, and therefore is little known. Yet it might be thought that an island where boats land easily in moderate weather, and which is well supplied with water, might be convenient to whalers. There are so few islands in the belt of twenty degrees of ocean which stretches from South America to New Zealand, that it might be thought that those which exist would have been in some way utilized by man. Both animals and vegetables good for food would probably thrive if it were worth while to introduce them, as was done in the island of Tristan da Cunha, in the same ocean. We believe that this island, which lies considerably to the west of the Crozet Islands, is frequented by whalers in want of fresh provisions, and perhaps no other station of the same kind is needed. It is satisfactory to learn that there are still a few uninhabited, and almost unknown, islands left, and there does not seem to be any influence at work which is likely to make it worth anybody's while to occupy these islands. The whaling in the Antarctic Sea is hardly likely to increase; but, on the contrary, unless some disciple of Mr. Buckland can obtain protection for the breed of whales, they will gradually diminish in number, as they have done in the Arctic Sea.

In 1776 Captain Cook sailed upon his last voyage, and making the Cape of Good Hope, he steered south-east, and thus, as we are told, he arrived at some islands which had been discovered by the French four years earlier. These, no doubt, were the Crozet Islands, and Cook at the same time gave the name of Prince Edward, afterwards Duke of Kent, and father of the Queen, to an island which he discovered to the west of the Crozet Islands. One of the objects of Cook's voyages was to introduce English animals and plants in the regions which he visited; and we are told that, in his last voyage, he had two horses with him which were landed and ridden by him and another officer in Otaheite. In this, as in other respects, he was a type of his class; for sailors, as we know, will always get on horseback if they can, and an admiral is at this moment the first authority on the turf. We do not know what became of Cook's horses, but there is little doubt that the pigs and rabbits which abound in many islands of the Pacific were introduced either by Cook or his contemporaries, to the benefit of the natives, if there are any, as well as of possible European visitors. It has been said that the pig is the great civilizer of the Pacific, and that no preaching against cannibalism has been so effective as placing before the natives a more dainty dish than man. In some parts of New Zealand pigs have become a nuisance, and some districts of Australia are eaten up with rabbits. This is too much of a good thing, but it would still be useful to propagate these animals when there is not likely to be any cultivation with which they could interfere. As there is a Society for everything else, we would recommend that one should be formed for stocking uninhabited islands with pigs and rabbits. The carelessness of modern seamanship makes shipwreck possible anywhere and at any time, and as iron ships do not last long among rocks, and there is therefore little time to get out provisions and stores, it is highly desirable that some resources should be provided wherever land exists. Although penguins may amiably invite us to knock them on the head, yet they are not pleasant food, and for our own part we should prefer on landing on an uninhabited island to meet a sleek comfortable pig who would welcome with cheerful grunt the advent of civilization with its machinery, including perhaps a sausage-mill. We learn that, if the boats of the *Strathmore* had not been lost soon after the landing of those who escaped from the wreck, the party might have been transferred to Hog Island, which seems in every way worthy of its name. There are pigs and rabbits there, and as it has been used as a sealing station, it also possesses the accommodation of a hut and boiler. An imaginative and benevolent person might take pleasure in breeding pigs and rabbits in some island where their natural enemies could not follow them, nor any vivisection threaten their tranquillity. Huts and boilers might be placed on these islands on the same principle that similar conveniences are provided among the high Alps. They are not often useful, but they are sometimes; and if the boats had not been accidentally lost, the party from the *Strathmore* might have passed a tolerably comfortable winter. It is stated that her crew were an indifferent lot, and she had lost her captain and first mate. It is not wonderful under these circumstances that proceedings in the island were not so orderly and exemplary as they might have been if the same accident had happened to a man-of-war. There was some approach to that state of nature where the strongest take, and they keep who can; and it was fortunate that

penguins and molly hawks came abundantly for all, and there was little else to quarrel over. But this and other recent instances of shipwreck have shown how desirable it is that the officers, seamen, and passengers of merchant ships should, if possible, be to some extent instructed in their respective duties, so that danger may not necessarily involve destruction. In this case we cannot help thinking that better management might have saved more lives. The captain seems, when the ship struck, to have in effect given up command, and left everybody to shift for themselves. We must allow, however, that some skill was shown in finding a landing-place, and some of the men who had gone first handsomely came back to fetch their comrades who had remained in the rigging of the ship, although, perhaps, they may also have had an eye to the brandy and other stores which the ship contained. This story is in many ways remarkable, and not least so for the light it throws on one of the controversies of the day. Can any reasonable man doubt that this party had a better chance of life and comfort on the island after they had brought to it all the wine and brandy they could save from the wreck? There used to be a book called *The Swiss Family Robinson*, which was a very mild copy, with additions, of Defoe's veracious history. We should recommend the Alliance to spend some of its abundant money in getting a pretty tale written of a serious abstaining family, which, being cast upon a desert island, and having the opportunity of taking stores out of a wrecked ship, left all the brandy, wine, and tobacco on board, and lived harmoniously on penguins and cold water until relief came.

#### THE POLICE MASQUERADE.

THE paragraphs which appear from time to time in the press headed "The Police and the Public" are apt to offer a strange contradiction to the boasted love of order and regard for authority in which the English are supposed to be so superior to Continental people. It is natural enough that there should be a certain class of the community who look upon the police force with so little liking that the sight of a blue uniform acts upon their senses as that of a red flag does on a bull's, although they are in most cases fortunately deterred from giving vent to their feelings as the bull does. It is not so easy to explain the animosity which occasionally shows itself among some of the more respectable classes against the police—a body of men who, as a general rule, execute trying duties with singular success. To enforce order without any offensive flaunting of authority, and to preserve an equal mind under an immense variety of irritations, are by no means easy tasks, and they are among the most common which policemen discharge, and for the most part discharge well. In a certain number of cases where policemen have been accused of gross blundering, of locking up a man desperately ill whose symptoms they have mistaken for those of drunkenness, or of arresting an innocent bystander at a disturbance instead of the real offender, the accusation has no doubt been well founded; and it has also happened that policemen have been convicted of grave offences against the law which they are supposed to preserve. But it is too much to expect that a man on being enrolled in the police force, and assuming the regulation helmet and uniform, should at once be endowed with wisdom and discretion far above that of his fellow-men; and it is inevitable that among a large body of men there should, in spite of all precautions, be found some of base metal. It would be surprising, indeed, if every policeman were to exemplify the virtues of honesty, forbearance, and courage, which we cannot but think are exhibited by the force as a whole. It is, however, of the utmost importance that the standard of the force should be kept at as high a level as possible, and this object can only be secured by the most searching investigation of every case where there exists clear evidence of a policeman having overstepped the limits of his authority in what he may take to be the cause of order. And when it is plain that a member of the police force has taken advantage of his position to indulge in the amusement of assaulting an inoffensive person, it becomes the duty of every one in whose power it lies to press for the discovery and conviction of the offender, in order that his fate may be a warning to any disposed to follow his example. It can hardly be thought that a proper amount of trouble was taken to attain this end in the case which was heard before Alderman Sir W. A. Rose at Guildhall on Monday last, when James Briggs, metropolitan police constable 450, was summoned for violently assaulting Mr. William Palmer on the occasion of the Queen's visit to the London Hospital.

The proceedings opened with a certain amount of liveliness, which was kept up more or less by the presiding Alderman throughout the hearing of the case. On a previous occasion, Sir Robert Carden, who was present on the bench, had expressed a strong opinion that the case ought not to be dropped until the offending constable had been detected; and, whether because he thought this opinion too forcibly expressed, or for some other reason which we cannot hope to fathom, Sir W. Rose, when he ordered the witnesses in the case to retire, added that he "would go further, and say that Sir Robert Carden ought to be out of court also." To this Sir Robert Carden naturally objected, and when his brother Alderman observed that he could—or, according to a corrected version, could not—order Sir Robert Carden out of court, Sir Robert replied

with perfect justice that he might as well order Sir W. Rose out of court. Fortunately for the dignity of the Bench the matter was not carried further; but it must by this time be obvious to Sir W. Rose that, apart from any privileges which the title of an alderman and magistrate may be supposed to confer, Sir Robert Carden had a perfect right to be in court as one of the general public. After this preliminary skirmish of words the case was heard, and it appeared from the evidence of Mr. Palmer that, on the day of the Queen's visit to the East End, he was returning to the City and found the road he had chosen as the nearest barred by a line of policemen. He asked a constable to let him pass, but was not allowed to do so, and, according to his statement, was pushed backwards and forwards among the police, until one of them struck him in the eye across the shoulder of another so violently that the eye bled. Unfortunately neither he nor the four witnesses who saw the blow given were able positively to identify the man who gave it. That this should be so is, when the circumstances are considered, not altogether surprising. The witnesses were not certain as to all the figures of the number on the constable's collar, and, taking into account the crowd and excitement around them at the time, this perhaps is not very strange. Two of them, however, asserted that the number was 450 E, one believed it was 450 E, and the fourth was sure that it ended with 50 E. Mr. Palmer himself thought that the number was 250 E, and the day after the assault the matter was brought to the notice of Colonel Henderson, who naturally considered it serious, and referred Mr. Palmer to Guildhall for a summons against 250 E, who, however, as it was found, was not in Aldgate, where the assault was committed, on the day of its occurrence. A few days afterwards Mr. Palmer went to Bow Street Police station, when the men who had been on the spot were paraded in uniform, in order that he might identify the man who struck him. In order to assist him in this identification a very curious method was adopted. "He saw," to quote from the reports of the case on Monday, "in 450 E uniform"—the uniform thought by the witnesses to have been worn by the man who struck the blow—"a man who to the best of his belief was 173 E. Police constable 173 E, having been called in, was identified by the complainant as the man referred to. The next day he heard about the change of uniforms, and after that saw Chief Inspector Harris. Subsequently he identified the defendant in Inspector Harris's room."

Mr. Palmer's identification did not, however, seem satisfactory when the case was heard on Monday, and with that of course we cannot be further concerned. But the extraordinary proceeding of the change of uniforms cannot but be a matter of general concern. The recognition even of people whom one is constantly accustomed to see depends more than might be supposed without experiment upon the clothes they wear. In this case the person to be recognized drew attention to himself for a moment among people who were probably somewhat excited, and whose natural impulse was to look rather at the number on his uniform than at his face as a guide for future recognition. Mr. Palmer, who was chiefly interested in the matter, was, according to his statement, "startled," as most people would be by receiving a violent and unexpected blow in the eye; and it was therefore more difficult for him than for the bystanders to take any accurate note of what occurred. He, however, agreed with them so far as to think that his assailant wore a badge ending with the number 50, and his attention, when he saw the men paraded before him, would of course be caught first by the wearer of a badge ending with that number. That on such an occasion the coat bearing that number should have been worn by another man will appear to most people suspicious. Colonel Henderson is of course not personally responsible for this disgraceful proceeding. Chief Inspector Harris, speaking for him on Monday, said that he had given Mr. Palmer "every facility to identify the man complained of, and had even furnished him with their private reports to assist him. Mr. Palmer attended at Bow Street and failed to identify the man in consequence of the numbers of one of the men having been changed—a proceeding which Colonel Henderson disapproved, although he believed it was done without any sinister motive."

It is difficult to see what motive except a "sinister" one, which we may take to mean a desire to throw dust in Mr. Palmer's eyes and screen the offender, can have prompted such an extraordinary action. We are driven therefore to conclude that it was done, as perhaps the assault was committed, out of pure love of fun and light-heartedness, and it is no doubt pleasant to think that the guardians of law and order are not such stiff pedantic characters as, from the severity of the examinations proposed for their steps to promotion, they might be imagined to be. It is also refreshing to find that the keen sense of humour suggested by this masquerade can be fully shared by Sir W. Rose, who ended the proceedings on Monday last with a singularly entertaining speech. After he had dismissed the case and Mr. Straight had remarked that "the mystery remained the same—a constable had assaulted his client, and he was unable to discover who it was," the presiding Alderman delivered some words in praise of the general conduct of the police. With what he said on this matter we are disposed in the main to agree. There is no doubt, however, that a more appropriate occasion might have been chosen for eulogy of the police than the very moment when an inoffensive citizen had failed, under the circumstances detailed, to identify a policeman who had assaulted him violently and without provocation. Sir W. Rose went on to say that forbearance was necessary on the part



of the public towards the police, and that had been hardly considered. If Sir W. Rose thinks that the necessary forbearance consists in submitting to brutal treatment without attempting to seek redress by lawful means, his statement may be accepted as correct. But fortunately the people of London have something better to rely on in the cause of order than the discretion of the police and their own forbearance. Sir W. Rose "considered it a duty to the police" to say that on the day of the assault, feeling that a responsibility rested on him as a magistrate, he took particular pains to ride from the Embankment to the London Hospital, and that he was bound to say, knowing something of military matters, that the arrangements were of the most complete character. What the responsibility resting on Sir W. Rose on that day was is best known to himself; it is consoling, however, to know that he did not shrink from the particular pains of riding from the Embankment to the Hospital in order to fulfil it, and that his military knowledge enabled him to admire the "complete" arrangements of the police. What is yet more consoling is that this admiration was the result of "a very extraordinary coincidence which enabled him on that day to have personal observation of the conduct of the whole of the police." This coincidence is indeed extraordinary, and of course, if the assault complained of did not come within the scope of Sir W. Rose's comprehensive observation, it must have existed only in Mr. Palmer's imagination. The Alderman finished his brilliant speech by expressing his great satisfaction in dismissing the summons, an announcement which was received with a burst of applause from the body of the Court, which, it is instructive to note, "was densely crowded, principally with Metropolitan Police constables in plain clothes."

#### SPRING EXHIBITIONS.

THE geographical area of art is from year to year extending; as civilization advances, fresh countries rise into the position of art-producers and consumers, and, as commerce becomes more and more world-wide, the number of foreign pictures annually imported into London is ever on the increase. The Twenty-third Exhibition in the French Gallery, Pall Mall, of "the Contributions of Artists of the Continental Schools," once more proves that the supply is practically inexhaustible. This Gallery was first French, then Flemish also; now it is little short of cosmopolitan, containing representative works, not from France and Belgium only, but likewise from Italy, Spain, Germany, Holland, and Sweden. England likewise may be added to the list, by virtue of a few works of foreigners who make it their pleasure and their profit to take up their abode among us. The only omission of magnitude is the entire hemisphere of the New World; the artists of the United States of America have, with very few exceptions, no market or reception either in England or on the Continent of Europe; they greatly owe their persistent existence and prosperity to a kind of mutual admiration society among themselves. These aboriginal painters have the further privilege of being borne up to a seventh heaven by an aboriginal press. The "French Gallery," still the chief of its kind, notwithstanding formidable competitors, has become, after the continuous efforts of twenty-three years, less commendable for its exceptional value than for its variety. The interest of these recurrent collections no longer centres in some large master-work, such as "The Horse Fair" by Mlle. Rosa Bonheur, but is diffused over a good average of cabinet pictures, closely packed together, so as to epitomize distinctive and national schools. Recruits are from time to time pressed into the service, whosoever rising talent may declare itself with promise and with cheapness.

Some old names, such as MM. Gérôme, Hébert, Breton, Meissonier, and Duverger, still cling to the Pall Mall walls as their former habitat. These geniuses, including Mlle. Rosa Bonheur, have been so often passed under review as to need no further comment, especially when their performances are little more than the small by-play of the studio. But several French pictures come with the credential of having obtained honour in the Paris Salon. Thus may be mentioned "Setting Fire to a Barricaded House at Villerssexel, January 9, 1871" (121); the work is but a second-rate example of the greatest battle school in Europe—that of Paris. In the Salon we remember to have taken a dislike to M. Gérôme's "L'Eminence Grise" (73). Here Père Joseph, the confidant of Louis XIII. and the unscrupulous tool of Richelieu, is seen in his monastic robes, reading his breviary while descending the great staircase of the palace. A train of gaily dressed prelates, nobles, and officers at the same moment ascend. One and all salute with low obeisance the "grey monk," who, with immobile disdain, does not condescend even to recognize their presence. The situation just suits the withering sarcasm of a painter who is accustomed to look on life as a jest and to study history for irony. The execution, unpleasantly smooth, ill suits the keen satire of the sentiment; more in keeping is the detestable colour, gay as flowers, yet harsh as with a metallic ring. Nevertheless, not strange to say, all things considered, the picture obtained in Paris the "medal of honour." The renowned M. Hébert favours us with a small segment of his circumscribed art; a "Water Carrier" is evidently a mere extract from the oft-repeated picture in the gallery of the Luxembourg. M. Breton, the art apostle of Brittany, exhibits "Le Saint Jean" (157), a picture of decadence, which almost as a matter of course gained applause in the Salon. The painter here surrenders a strong honest naturalism for a weak and false sentiment. The

motive is pretty enough. A circle of Breton girls, lusty in limb and clumsy in bouncing movement, dance about a torch-lit fire. It is a scene of revelry by night. A pupil of M. Breton, M. Billet, retains with manifold advantage the master's earlier manner in "A Shepherdess, Normandy" (145). The figure is almost statuesque in immobility, and grand and Sibyl-like in power, in repose, and in thought awaiting utterance. And yet the subject is merely a shepherdess. Another Parisian painter who of late has been making himself prominent is M. Bertrand. He became a few years ago much talked about in consequence of a lachrymose composition, Virginia cast by the waves on a sandy beach. His lines were then horizontal. He now has gained sufficient strength to make them perpendicular in a couple of sentimental figures, trite as they can be, "Marguerite" (149) and "Lesbia," the dead sparrow and the empty cage of course included (168). But these creations—not of the imagination, but of memory merely—scarcely having innate force to stand on their legs firmly, the artist once more betakes himself to the safer horizontal attitude of the human form divine in a full-length life-size "Magdalen" lying prone on the bare ground without a scrap of drapery as a symbol of her return to chastity. The picture is little short of despicable. All the works we have seen by M. Bertrand are distinguished by a soft nerveless handling corresponding to a mawkish sentiment which seems to suit precisely the tastes of our English connoisseurs and purchasers.

A few gleanings here gathered with discriminative eye from foreign lands will further indicate the varied contents of this so-called "French" Gallery. We hardly expected to encounter landscapes by the Swede M. Wahlberg, an artist seen on a large scale and in great power in the national picture gallery of Stockholm. We have long been of opinion that the landscape art of Scandinavia—seen chiefly at the capitals of Copenhagen and Stockholm—might with advantage be introduced to the English public. Take, for example, the local landscapes of forests and of fiords painted by the Norwegian M. Morten Müller. We scarcely like to mention that they were formerly sold on the spot at ridiculously low prices. The style affected by the best artists in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark is borrowed from Düsseldorf; but the subjects are for the most part national. Herr Knaus, professor of painting in the Düsseldorf Academy, whose early work, "The Thief in the Market," we remember many years ago by virtue of its knock-down force, has changed, and not improved, his manner in his latest achievement, "Point de rose sans épine" (56). He loses the vigour of his touch, and his colour becomes gay, crude, and artificial. This great master of naturalism obtained one of the four "grands prix" accorded to nations foreign to France in the International Exhibition of 1867. England was then excluded; such is the estimation in which our first artists are held upon the Continent. Pictures by Professor Knaus are comparatively rare in this country; one reason being that his works are bought up eagerly by his own countrymen at high prices. We are happy to renew acquaintance with Professor Diez; "A Horse-Fair in Bavaria" is even more in miniature than Meissonier; the handling is smart, with somewhat of the *chic* of an etching. As examples of the composite phases assumed in Continental schools may be quoted Signor Pasini, an Italian (21), and Señor Palmaroli, a Spaniard (69). Both these painters have done well to study in Paris, and yet they have not quite sold their birthright. The best chance for the revival of the cognate arts of the sister peninsulas of Italy and of Spain is not by contact with Germany or with England, but by companionship with France, by far the foremost school in Europe. In this eclectic Gallery landscape art is represented by a few distinguished names—MM. Lambinet (19) and Corot (88), both Frenchmen; M. Clays (43), a Belgian, and M. Munthe (49), Chevalier of the Order of Leopold. But we notice as a little strange that not a single landscape finds a place on the line; the plea is that landscape does not tell in Exhibitions. This seems a more cruel snub than even the Royal Academy has yet inflicted.

The Marine Gallery, New Bond Street, has a character of its own; its domain is the wild ocean ruled of old by the daring and dashing "sea kings." Denmark, a kingdom which stands as a jutland and breakwater between stormy and conflicting waves, has of late years given birth to a race of painters as brave as her own Vikings and fishermen. MM. Sørensen, Melby and Neumann have won European renown in international exhibitions by studies of ocean local in Northern colour and in crisp and cast-iron articulation of wave-forms. Whoever has sailed in the Mediterranean and then in the Baltic will know how "dark and true and tender is the North," and how "bright and fierce and fickle is the South." Unfortunately the small art community in Denmark is riven asunder between two hostile camps, one boasting of the name "national," the other suffering obloquy under the term "anti-national." Temper and mutual hatred work the destruction of so small and dismembered a kingdom as Denmark. Yet these sea pieces, not to be approached in London since the days of Clarkson Stanfield, prove that marine-painting cannot die among a nation of mariners.

The General Exhibition of Water-Colour Drawings—"the twelfth"—might be curtly dismissed as the worst ever seen in the Dudley Gallery. Nevertheless we gladly proceed to do justice to some of the best works in it. At the outset let us pay tribute to the management for the fair play shown to landscapes. We have before stated that "in the French Gallery" not one landscape was allowed a place on the line. Here in the Dudley, on the contrary, about thirty landscapes obtain that distinction, the reason no doubt being that, while the French Gallery is natu-

mally strong in the figure, the Dudley is weak. These thirty landscapes may be reckoned as a third of the total on the line, two-thirds being accorded to figures. Roughly, the relation between landscape and figure in this collection of 592 works is, numerically, one-third landscape to two-thirds figure; therefore the hanging would seem to respond to the claims of the constituency. The artists deservedly made prominent are Mr. J. C. Moore, Mr. Clifford in portraiture, Mr. Henry Moore in sea pieces, and Messrs. Fahey (253), Frank Walton (568), Stocks (106), and Aston (343) in the way of miscellanies. We cannot compliment Professor Poynter on "Michelangelo" (527), a character whom he is supposed to affect to understand. The Slade Professor shows himself a plagiarist from his grand original; the figure is evidently inspired by the Jeremiah in the Sistine; the architectural niche would seem to be suggested by the marble stalling which cribs and cabins "the Moses." The worst part, the drapery, is the most original. The figure and the treatment lack the dignity and elevation innate in Michelangelo.

The Society of Lady Artists, "re-organized in 1865," manages to live partly by the pecuniary aid of donors and life subscribers. We have long been unable to understand why this Exhibition should exist at all except as a charity, seeing that there is not one of the very many London exhibitions that does not acknowledge, at least in art, "the rights of women." But, perhaps a little unfortunately, "rights" hitherto have grown up out of merits; hence the need of an exhibition on the basis of demerits, for the benefit of "lady artists" possessing little else than the ardent ambition of making themselves conspicuous. Few persons—except contributors who come to see and admire their own performances—could care to visit this out-of-the-way Gallery, were it not that about half-a-dozen "female artists" who have made a mark elsewhere kindly come to the rescue of an unknown sisterhood. Works by Miss Thompson (3-4), Mrs. Jopling (2), Miss Sophia Beale (1), Miss Edwards (9), Madame Bisschop (492), and Miss Hilda Montalba (246), have something more than promise to commend them. But what are these among a multitude of six hundred and sixty-six performances, with the addition of three or four hundred rejected abortions.

In conclusion, we may cast a retrospective glance at the oil-pictures, drawings, and engravings of the late Mr. Walker, Mr. Pinwell, and Mr. Houghton—three kindred painters united in art, and not separated in death. These collective works have in posthumous exhibitions and auction marts commanded, as they deserved, consideration from an appreciative public. The three comparatively young painters, though akin, were not identical. Walker was most of the artist, Pinwell most of the poet, Houghton most of the storyteller. And yet they had much in common; they looked at nature in the same way, they loved her in her simplicity, and yet they raised her above commonplace. Especially they hit by a happy accommodation on the innate relation between landscape and figure; the expression in the figure was often not so much in the face as in the attitude, and the angles or graceful bends in the drawing of men, women, and children found responsive harmonies in the growth of trees or in the detail of foregrounds. Moreover, the remarkable and often eccentric compositions of these painters were removed from the atmosphere of common day; nature was seen through a flood of light and a fever of colour which seemed to transport a dun London model to the region of the tropics. Such hot-bed art appears, as we said when recently treating of the short-lived Fortuny, to perish as a frail plant in the effort of blooming. Aspiring artists who offer things "new and strange" die first, while established Academicians who have long worn out their last idea live for ever.

## REVIEWS.

### PRIDEAUX'S LETTERS TO ELLIS.\*

**H**UMPHREY PRIDEAUX, Dean of Norwich, and the earlier John Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester, both bore the same foreign-looking name, and both came from the same part of England. Yet we are told that the Bishop was of humble birth, while the Dean was of an ancient and honourable family. Genealogists may settle the seeming paradox; but it is certain that, in the case of very great families, it almost always happens, from whatever cause, that the name is common among smaller folk in the neighbourhood. It is so at Alnwick; it is so at Berkeley. Whether the Dean's branch of the house of Prideaux was so great as all this, we do not know; but the contrast between the alleged ancestry of two divines of the same century whom one might have rashly taken for father and son is anyhow remarkable. Our present business, however, is not with Bishop John, but with Dean Humphrey, and Dean Humphrey's letters are a memorable proof that love of learning does not exclude either love of gossip or of plainness of speech in retailing gossip. It may even seem consistent with a certain share of spitefulness, or at least love of fault-finding. But so much the better; if Prideaux had been more inclined either to keep things to himself or to tell them in a more solemn fashion, he would not have written such amusing letters as he has written.

\* *Letters of Humphrey Prideaux, sometime Dean of Norwich, to John Ellis, sometime Under-Secretary of State.* Edited by Edward Maude Thompson. Printed for the Camden Society: 1875.

Prideaux's name is still well known by his works, the *Comnexion* and the *Life of Mahomet*. This last is a specimen of the way in which in his day it was thought to be the duty of a Christian controversialist to do nothing but revile and misrepresent the founders of the rival religion. In Mahomet Prideaux can see nothing but a "wicked impostor"; indeed his book itself is "the True Nature of Imposture displayed in the Life of Mahomet"; and it is accompanied by a "Letter to the Deists," to prove that Christianity is not open to the same charge of imposture as Mahometanism. There is a long distance between this and the *Life of Mahomet* by Sir William Muir, though the modern author is clearly as firm a believer in Christianity as the Dean himself.

Here however we have to deal with Prideaux only as the correspondent with John Ellis, who lived from 1645 to 1738, and employed the greater part of that long time in various offices in the public service, including a seat in more than one Parliament. He himself left no descendants; but two peerages, those of Normanton and Clifden, belong to descendants in the female line from one of his brothers. Both he and Prideaux were Westminster scholars and Christ Church students, and their friendship must have begun at Oxford. Prideaux's letters fall into two divisions, those which were written at Oxford, and those which were written in his later life at Norwich, where he was first Prebendary, and afterwards Dean. And certainly both at Oxford and at Norwich he made it his business to tell his friend all that was going on around him. If any one wishes to see something of the personal details of the University, and even of the city of Oxford, and afterwards of the church and city of Norwich and the county of Norfolk, he cannot go to a better source than these letters of Prideaux. The worst thing is that, if we are to believe the writer, his lot was cast at both places among an unusual number of worthless and contemptible people. We can well believe that both at Oxford and at Norwich there were many things that might have been better; still Prideaux's accounts always read as if he were disposed to make the worst of everybody and everything. Let us hope, at least, that Dean Fairfax of Norwich, "our brutish Dean," "this horrid sot which we have got for our Dean," "one of the greatest beasts of nature," may not have been quite so bad as the zealous Prebendary makes out. Better-known people at Oxford do not fare quite so badly as this; but Prideaux has something to say against most people there also. Every one knows the lines of which the burden is "I do not like you, Dr. Fell"; and Prideaux, when at Christ Church, seems to have been much of the same opinion. Prideaux took much interest in the University Press, with which Fell had much to do. Here is a specimen:—

We have got another booke of Dr. Willises in the presse, beside which nothing is to be expected from us that is worth the publicke view, Mr. Dean at present dealing in most vile small businesses. I must confesse most of his designs are shallow, and I am sure will conduce very little to the advancement of learning and knowledge. We have scarce as yet set forth any booke of worth, neither can I persuade Mr. Dean to attempt any, his answer to all my proposals being, it will not sell. A Bible hath lately come forth from us; if you hear anything of it pray inform us. I must confesse, since Mr. Dean hath taken the liberty of inventing a new way of spelling and using it therein, which I thinke will confound and alter the analogy of the English tongue, y<sup>e</sup> I doe not at all approve thereof; and I could hartly wish that he would be a looser by the experiment, that we may have noe more of it.

What changes the Dean would have made in spelling does not appear, but Prideaux's own spelling was certainly of the laxest. A little before this he complains that "now all our faculty places are filled with *tosts*, and those which formerly had the learnedest and most eminent men in the University are become the refuges of dunces and knaves." This sounds odd when we read just before that "Lock hath wrigled into Ireland's faculty place." By faculty place Prideaux means the few lay studentships of Christ Church, whose holders took degrees in law or medicine; and "Lock" is no other than the famous John Locke, with whom one might have expected Prideaux to have more fellow-feeling. Nor do our "greezy townsmen" fare any better. In 1679-80 he writes that "we have gotten here a very od fellow Mayor of the Town, who seems to have been put into this office to serve the Presbyterians," "in which office he acteth to the utmost folly of phanaticisme, molesting both the University and town." Other places are not much more approved of than those in which Prideaux lived himself. In 1675 the town of Northampton was burned, as may be remembered by any one who has seen the statue of Charles the Second over the portico of All Saints' Church there. Large collections were made everywhere for the rebuilding of the unlucky town, on which Prideaux thus speaks his mind:—

Our town affords little news worth your knowledge; y<sup>e</sup> which is most talked of at present is what each college contributeth towards the rebuilding of Northampton. Our scholars are ridiculously liberal to this phanatical town. If all others should equal them in their contributions, North Hampton would get double what it lost by being burnt. Such ridiculous pride and emulation in giving much havinge see possesest all our scholars, y<sup>e</sup> poor rogues that are scarce worth 40<sup>s</sup> thinke themselves undervalued if they give not 20. Most of our fellows of houses are in this humour; but I thought 5<sup>s</sup> as great an almes as I could give or that rogyt town deserve.

All this certainly shows a carping spirit on the part of the writer, or at all events the spirit of one who blurted out to an intimate friend everything that he thought; but in some of the stories which he tells it is plain that there was a good deal in many colleges of the University which needed reforming. In 1674 Ralph Bathurst, President of Trinity, was Vice-Chancellor, and the Master of Balliol was Dr. Thomas Good, "who was a good, honest old *tost*, and understands business well enough, but is very often



guilty of absurdities which rendereth him contemptible to the young men of the Town." "Out of a desire to be a fool in print," he published a controversial dialogue, and he certainly seems to have preached in a very odd way. The present members of his college will be inclined, like the Homeric heroes, to boast themselves better than their forefathers when they read:—

There is over against Balliol College a dingy, horrid, scandalous alehouse, fit for none but draymen and tinkers and such as by going there have made themselves equally scandalous. Here the Balliol men continually ly, and by perpetual babbling ad art to their natural stupidity to make themselves perfect sots.

The Master rebukes his men, telling them "of the mischiefs of that hellish liquor cold ale," upon which one of them, "not willing so tamely to be preached out of his beloved liquor, made reply that "the Vice-Chancellor's men drank ale at the Split Crow, and why should not they to." The old man "immediately packeth away" to the Vice-Chancellor, but, finding that that dignity thought well of ale and did not care to stop his men from drinking it, he went back again and told the Balliol men that, "since the Vice-Chancellor gave his men leave to drinke ale, he would give them leave to; soe now they may be sots by authority."

It is plain from a great many of Prideaux's stories that drunkenness was in his day a most prevalent vice in the University. It is pleasant to turn from these scandals to his accounts of the doings at the University Press and of his own studies. Prideaux was a diligent student, and some of his judgments on books show real discernment, though others sound nowadays a little startling. He lived in an age when perhaps more was done for the sound study of English history than at any other time down to our own day; but on such labours he looked with scorn. He did indeed allow some merit to the collection of Gale; it would be, he says, an "acceptable work" to carry out the design of printing "Gildas, and other of the most ancient British and Saxon authors, several of which have never yet been printed." But directly after he says that "Tony Wood, our antiquary, having pored so long on old monkish stories, at last dotes on them and is turned papist." He then comments on the folly of spending time "on raking together such dotages," and adds "And this is Dugdale's case who on the same account hath embraced the same religion." The charge was quite untrue with regard to either Wood or Dugdale; but that it should have been brought on such grounds shows the notions of the times. The editor adds in a note that, when the *Monasticon* was first published, "some looked suspiciously upon that work as a means to further the restoration of the monasteries, preparatory to the re-establishment of the Romish religion." When we remember that ideas of this kind lived on long enough to affect in some degree even the mind of Hallam, we shall hardly be surprised at finding Prideaux speaking in this way. Yet Prideaux was a scholar, and, like most men of his age who read at all, he read further within his own range than men commonly do nowadays. Besides the *Pavian Chronicle*, which he published in his *Marmora Oxoniensis*, he was set to work on John Meleas, whom he did not like at all. But he persuaded Dean Fell to print the Greek Fathers, and we find him busy with the *Anecdotes of Procopius*. To his correspondent, as a lawyer, he remarks, "I doubt not but that the relation he giveth of the founder of your civil law will surprise you." He does not enter into the question, which to some may seem more surprising, whether this book of gossiping and impossible libels can really come from the pen of the great writer who brought back Greek historical composition, after so many ages, so nearly to the level of its best days. In another letter he sketches a course of reading for a friend of his correspondent, who wished for "a method for reading the Greek and Latin histories." He begins amusingly enough:—"If he be a gentleman, Dr. Hoel's universal history in English will be sufficient for him; but, if he be a scholar, and desires to read the best historians in the original," he is to begin with Herodotus and go steadily to Ammianus. Prideaux clearly had no notion of a later fashion in his University, which stopped at the sacrifice of Tissaphernes and started again with Tiberius or Galba. With regard to the last name on his list, he exactly hits the truth when he says that Ammianus, "although to his language is very barbarous, is however a most excellent author." Some of his judgments are curious. "In reading the Roman history, it is to be observed the faithfullest narrators of it are the Grecians, and that more is to be learnt from them than the Roman writers themselves. He therefore holds that "Dionysius and Dio in those things they treat of are to be preferred to Livy and Tacitus." For Dionysius he has an admiration which is almost startling:—

The original and first foundation of the Roman Empire is noe where better treated of then in this author, which I thinke to be much the best of any that relates the actions of ancient times and the most diverting.

But there is something in this more than one might think at first. It is only about Dionysius being diverting that there need be any difficulty. A modern reader would probably say that Dionysius is diverting, though in another sense than that which Prideaux meant. But once believe in the early legends of Rome as a real political history, and we can at once see why Dionysius should be preferred to Livy. Livy, with all his faith, never forgot that he was telling a beautiful story. Dionysius thought very little about mere story-telling; he was far too much in deadly earnest for that. To him the institutions of Romulus were just as much, and just in the same way, matters for political study as the institutions of Kleisthenes. Prideaux had most likely not begun to doubt, and to one who mistook legend for history we can quite understand that Dionysius would seem to give a more instructive account than

Livy. No one will dispute Prideaux's judgment when he says, "As to the life of Alexander, I judge it not written by Arrian." But his notions of the last days of independent Greece are a little shallow:—

What comes after are actions for the most part soe obscure as that they deserve noe historian, and I know none they have except Polybius, and his relations are reather of the Roman then Greek affaires, Greece in his time beeing made a province of the Roman Empire.

Some may perhaps think that Prideaux was more at home with Greek and Latin authors than with English. Here is a piece of criticism:—

He [Sir Richard Willis] likewise showed me an Italian romance, called Archadia De Sanizara, to which Sr Philip Sidney was beholden for his, that being as he assured me only a bare translation of this. According to my judgement of his peice, I thinke it could not have been much worse if he had made it himselfe, although it hath the luck to be in soe high esteem among women and fooles, who know not how better to bestow their time then in reading such like foolish trash. As for my part, I must confesse myselfe to be utterly ignorant on what account Sr Philip Sidney hath soe great repute among us, I knoweing nothing of him that may in the least deserve it, only the world conceived great hopes of him, which, if he had lived, perchance he would never have satisfied, and bee er this as little remembered as other men.

Directly after we read about the Duchess of Cleveland's sojourn at Oxford, and her putting one of her sons into the hands of Dean Fell:—

Her [third] son was with her, who beeing, she told Mr. Dean, born in Oxford among the schollars, shall live [some] considerable time among them, especially since he is far more apt to receive instructions then his elder brother, whom she confesseth to be a very kockish idle boy. The morning before she went she sate at least an hour in her coach, that every body might se her.

The "kockish" boy was Charles, Duke of Southampton; the one of better promise who was born among the scholars was George, Duke of Northumberland, who was actually born in Merton College. Elsewhere we hear how "old Cartret of Ano" (Cartwright of Aynho) has left behind him "a vast estate, which hath been collected together by much thyrft and niggardynesse," and how "2 little girles will have 25000<sup>l</sup> a peice, which before they are marriageable will grow to a much greater sum. I suppose," he adds, "the King may put in for some of his bastards." He comments on "y<sup>e</sup> which he hath here with us," namely, the Duke of Southampton, who "is kept very orderly, but will ever be very simple, and scarce, I beleive, ever attain to the reputation of not being thought a fool." "Nel Gwyn" figures in another story, told on the authority of an Oxford alderman.

The whole book is curious. Prideaux had at all events the great merit of writing exactly as he thought.

#### HOMERIC SYNCHRONISM.\*

THIS work is grounded on the discoveries which seem to have been most recently made in two very distinct quarters, both of which may be found to reflect some interesting light on the date of the Trojan war, the one directly, the other indirectly indeed, but hardly less instructively. The one is the presumed identification of certain remains long hidden deep below the soil at Hisarlik in the Troad, the other the fragmentary record of events connecting at a very primitive era the history of the Greeks and Trojans with that of Egypt. Both these discoveries—for such we may assume them to be, however imperfect and immature as yet—do undoubtedly assist in determining the date of the war; but we are not sure that they give us any such help in ascertaining the time of Homer, understanding "Homer" in the sense which Mr. Gladstone attaches to the name, as the master who composed, not substantially only, but in almost every detail, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as we now possess them. For such is the contention of Mr. Gladstone, which he has enforced with vast learning and ingenuity in many previous works, and which every one must admit to be worthy of the highest consideration, though a great number, perhaps a majority, of modern critics still profess themselves unconvinced of it. Our present object is only to indicate briefly some of the points in which the recent discoveries bear upon this question.

That "Homer" was a Western and not an Asiatic Greek, and that he lived before the "Return of the Heraclidae" or the Doric invasion of the Peloponnese, which ejected the descendants of Agamemnon from Argos, and reduced the Achaian name from the general appellation of the Greek nation to that of an obscure tribe or a narrow strip of sea-coast, is Mr. Gladstone's standpoint. The question has been abundantly discussed, and there can be little doubt that, granting "Homer," the well-known arguments in its favour strongly predominate. Assuming the time of Homer to have been within one, or at most three, generations from the war, he might very well have possessed himself of minute and accurate knowledge on all its particulars, and have visited and examined the site while its genuine traces and traditions were still fresh; and this, if we remember correctly, is a point on which Mr. Gladstone has particularly insisted, along with other believers in Homer, in his former publications. It is since his latest writing on the subject that Dr. Schliemann has made the excavations which have given so much fresh interest to the ancient debate. From these we can, it seems, actually determine the real site of Troy; and,

\* *Homeric Synchronism: an Inquiry into the Time and Place of Homer.* By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. London: Macmillan & Co. 1876.

after uncovering the remains of two, or, we believe, three later cities, the traces of which are clearly too recent to be those of the ancient hold of Priam, we light at last upon a still earlier *couche*, or stratum of ruins, bearing marks of destruction by fire, and comprising the foundations of walls, gates, and towers corresponding in character with those of a suitably primitive era, and containing a vast number of objects, in gold, in copper, and in baked clay, more or less clearly marked with lines and figures some of which may be thought to bear reference to the mythology of the presumed Trojan epoch. There is found abundance of copper, but very little bronze; and those accordingly who maintain, with Mr. Gladstone, that Homer lived within a generation or two of the war will be confirmed in their constant rendering of the Homeric *χαλκός* by "copper." But, on the other hand, there is also a vast amount of stone knives and hatchets; and in the entire absence of allusion to weapons of stone in the poems we seem to find ourselves in a period earlier than "Homer," not by generations only, but by centuries. The rude gravings which appear on clay and metal indicate also an antiquity of hundreds of years, as compared with the references contained in the poems to works of skill and objects of æsthetic taste. To this we must add that these remains present us, as yet, with no specimens at all of many objects which hold an important place in the "manners" of the Iliad, such as the parts and furniture of chariots. Mr. Gladstone's explanation of this untoward circumstance is rather far-fetched. He suggests that the best and most valuable articles were exhausted in the long course of the war, while stone implements, too mean to be noticed, remained in store. He is obliged to contend that the sculpture of the shield of Achilles, exquisite in design and in execution as it is represented by the poet, is due to his own imagination wholly, and that he actually saw nothing more advanced in art than almost shapeless scratches. We apprehend, however, that the plain inference from these facts is that "Homer" belongs after all to a period quite indeterminate, but long subsequent to the war, and that the familiarity with the locality and other circumstances with which our sanguine critics so freely credit him is to a great extent imaginary in themselves.

We fear that we may be doing Mr. Gladstone some injustice in passing so lightly over matters on which he has thought long and found occasion to express himself decidedly. But our remarks must be taken at their worth as cursory impressions rather than as critical judgments. The second part of the book before us will tend, however, if our view of the facts brought forward is correct, to confirm the apprehension that the records of Egyptology will extend rather than contract the interval between the War of Troy and the composition of the Homeric poems. For in this case, as in the other, the recent discoveries, if such they really are, seem to throw back the war to an earlier epoch than has hitherto been supposed. Thus, for instance, the inscriptions, as now interpreted by certain French inquirers, place the commencement of the nineteenth Egyptian dynasty about 1462 B.C., and the accession of Rameses II., the Sesostris of the Greeks, about 1410. Monuments, it appears, can now be deciphered which point to a combination of various peoples in Asia Minor against the powers of this mighty conqueror, in the fourth year of his reign, 1406, among which we may discover names which it is supposed can only stand for the Lycians, the Dardanians, and others which occur in the Iliad in alliance against the Greek invaders. Now, to follow the precise statements of Homer, the Dardanians first gave their name to the people of the Troad, who in the third generation received from Troas the appellation of Trojans. From thence five more generations bring us to the death of Hector and the fall of Troy, and from these data Mr. Gladstone calculates that "the settlement of Dardania was probably founded between 1466 and 1406 B.C., and the overthrow of Troy, on the same basis of computation, would probably fall between 1286 and 1226 B.C.," that is, from one hundred to forty years earlier than the date commonly received.

If, however [he continues], we are to read the inscriptions as meaning that these Dardanians were Dardanians of Ilios, as appears to be held by a writer of authority (M. Lenormant), a new and rather important element is introduced, and we at once reach the time of King Ilios. We must then suppose that the rivalry of the Dardan and Trojan names for territorial supremacy had lasted for one generation longer; and the combination against Rameses II. thus operates with a corresponding difference on the date of the foundation of Dardania. For, as Ilios was not founded until some ninety years, more or less, after Dardanos, it follows that if the name of the city was known in 1406 B.C., the epoch of Dardanos is thrown back to 1496 at the latest; . . . thus the epoch of the Troica is thrown back at least to about 1316 B.C. . . . According to this piece of evidence, the overthrow of Troy might have been as late as 1226 B.C., or as early as 1316.

We have allowed Mr. Gladstone to speak for himself, because he depends in his calculations on the exact accuracy of the Homeric account of the generations of the Trojan rulers, on which our readers may perhaps place less implicit reliance. If, however, we may accept his conclusions on this point, they would seem to corroborate the inference from local discovery that the war is of much earlier date than that usually assigned to it. The monumental inscriptions at Karnak are now said to furnish further testimony to the same effect as that which has just been referred to. It was in the reign of Thothmes III. (1600—1550) that the power of Egypt was at its climax, and extended over the Greek peninsula and the islands. After that era the maritime ascendancy of this great people was abated. In the next generation after Rameses II. Egypt was herself attacked by a combination of foreigners, among whom we read the names of the Achæians and Laconians, as well as the Tyrrhenians and Sicilians, at a date which may be

placed about 1345. Now it will be found, on examination of the Homeric poem, that this era exactly coincides with the period when the Achæians held that ascendancy among the tribes of Greece which Homer so evidently assigns to them, but which certainly passed away very soon afterwards. This, then, must be a close approximation to the epoch of the Trojan war, and that event must again be fixed within such limits as the interval between 1345 B.C. and 1285.

It has been shown already that the recent local discoveries indicate a great interval of time between the war and the composition of the poem. The new historical discoveries tend apparently in the same direction. That the author possessed some vague traditional knowledge of Egypt, which shaped itself in very exaggerated forms and colours in his imagination, is clear enough; but can we suppose that such remarkable facts as a recent supremacy of Egypt over Greece and Asia, and a strong reactionary movement against her both east and west, could have occurred within two or three generations before the war, and have passed into such complete oblivion within two generations after it that "Homer," not poet only, but national historian as he is, should make no reference to it whatever? This seems to us quite inadmissible; and it is important to observe how both the local and the historical discoveries seem to concur in discrediting it. Without pretending to put forth a definite theory of the composition of the Homeric poems, we should be emboldened by the result of these double investigations to insist all the more strongly on the indications of a much later origin for them, in their present form, derived from the manners they depict, and still more from the language in which they are delivered. We are free to admit that we have as yet met with no satisfactory solution of the problem of their existence at all; it is far easier no doubt to pull down theories in this case, as in many others, than to build one up; but the very novelty of the views to which these recent inquiries introduce us may dispose us to wait patiently, and not without hope, for further light, and to receive with the greatest satisfaction the contributions to our knowledge which a book like this of Mr. Gladstone's puts so clearly and vividly before us.

#### WYLLIE'S EXTERNAL POLICY OF INDIA.\*

THIS volume is a reprint of essays written in the intervals of business by a young member of the Bombay Civil Service, who was prematurely cut off from what, we doubt not, would have been a very distinguished career. The editorship of Mr. W. W. Hunter is a guarantee that the work is all that literary accomplishments can make it. The chief interest, however, lies more in the character and services of the late Mr. Wyllie than in the writings; and from the introductory memoir, as well as from a few other independent sources, we select the following facts, which may have attraction both for friends and relatives, and for aspirants to those advantages which, coupled with frightful drawbacks, the Indian Civil Service now holds out to a competing public. The son of a military officer of the Bombay Establishment distinguished in Cutch, Afghanistan, and Sind, young Wyllie was educated at the Edinburgh Academy, at Cheltenham College, and at Oxford, where he gained one scholarship at Lincoln and another at Trinity College. After obtaining a first-class in Moderations, he was led by domestic reasons to compete for an appointment in the Indian Civil Service, gained the eleventh place when twenty-two were successful, and reached India towards the close of 1856, just after the attainment of his majority. After a short residence at Satnra, he was appointed Political Assistant in Kattiawar, and when he had learnt district work for two years and a half in that province and in others, he had the good fortune to be selected, for his merit and capacity, for employment under the Chief Commissioner in Oudh. This involved the unusual occurrence of a transfer from one Presidency to another, and the selection is in itself a clear proof that young Wyllie's talents had already been appreciated by his superiors. His work as a district officer in that splendid province, which in just twenty years has passed from the middle ages to the close of the eighteenth century, led to an appointment first in the Oudh and then in the Calcutta Secretariat, the dream of many another ambitious young civilian. This was in 1862. In the remaining five and a half years of his service he passed through the Home, Financial, and Foreign Departments, six months of some years being spent at Simla, and the remainder at Calcutta. But it was in the latter department that his talents were matured, his experience of external and internal politics acquired, and his natural aptitude for periodical literature stimulated and developed. Yet, in spite of the attractions of the Calcutta Foreign Office, the old hankering after University honours returned to him, and he took advantage of a trip to England of nearly eighteen months' duration to reside at Trinity College and to take his degree. We are by no means certain that this course ought to be held up admiringly as a precedent, or that we can conscientiously recommend it to other competitors. In Mr. Wyllie's peculiar case it was rendered feasible, and it may have been right. But in the majority of instances a Civil servant who has begun to grapple with one of

\* *Essays on the External Policy of India.* By the late J. W. S. Wyllie, M.A., C.S.I., H. M. India Civil Service; sometime Acting Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. Edited, with a brief Life, by W. W. Hunter, B.A., LL.D., H. M. India Civil Service. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1875.



the most complex and attractive problems of modern times had far better spend his vacation in travel or recreation than in competing for honours with men eight or ten years his juniors. There is one period of life for examinations and another for active work, and official capacity is a matter not to be gauged by stiff papers and columns of marks. On his return to India, Mr. Wyllie was fortunate enough to secure the confidence of the Viceroy, Lord Lawrence, and he passed the latter part of his career in studying Central Asian and frontier politics under a statesman of consummate experience, in mastering, analysing, and replying to the mass of correspondence which is entailed on the Indian Secretariat, and in making those contributions to an influential political journal which are the justification of the present work. Early in 1868 Mr. Wyllie was compelled to take three years' furlough, and he never saw India again. His contest for Hereford, where he defeated the late Attorney-General, Sir R. Baggallay, is probably more easily recalled to the minds of many readers than his Indian career. He gained the second seat for the borough by a small majority, took his place in the House of Commons, but was unseated on petition, owing to what Mr. Hunter truly terms "the excessive zeal of an indiscreet supporter," who, before taking the Liberal electors to the poll, had given them a breakfast. The rest is soon told. Excluded from the House, and unable to return to a profession which he had advisedly abandoned, he paid a visit to Paris; and after a year died of cold and inflammation, which were too much for a frame already weakened by malarial fever. It may be said, indeed, that he had never been actually free from disease since first attacked in Goozerat. His Indian service had previously been acknowledged by a Companionship of the Star of India.

That the late Mr. Wyllie was a man of solid education, considerable accomplishments, engaging manners, and most estimable character, must be readily acknowledged by all who knew him. Nor do we wish to impugn the merit of several of the papers of which the volume is made up. But, while we would have young civilians imitate Mr. Wyllie's honesty and love of work, his geniality, his wide sympathies, his skilful combination of official diligence with literary grace and brilliancy, we think it most desirable that ambitious public servants should not be tempted prematurely to desert the path of Indian duty for the fascinations of English controversy and Parliamentary debate. The House, if it is to be, as Mr. Roebuck deemed it, an epitome of English life everywhere, may well afford a few seats to Indian and Colonial celebrities. But they should be *emeriti*. Bad health may be a very good reason for throwing up a service where only one man in fifty can discharge his duties in a hill climate. But independence in worldly affairs, which Mr. Wyllie does not appear to have possessed, is surely a condition precedent to the desertion of a fine service and to a Parliamentary candidature. This may appear somewhat ungracious, but those who deliberately adopt an Eastern country as their own ought not to be encouraged to abandon it for such an uncertainty as politics in England.

The articles selected by Mr. Hunter for reprint are by no means all of equal merit. There are two from the *Edinburgh Review*, two from the *Fortnightly*, an early essay from the *Calcutta Review*, and a long official note or *précis* on a recondite and exquisitely Oriental but suggestive topic, exhumed from the Calcutta Foreign Office. We have no present intention of going deeply into the various questions as to our duty or our policy in Central Asia which these papers raise. But we desire to draw attention to Mr. Hunter's mode of dealing with articles in which their late author expresses views which time has not only not confirmed but has disproved, and which the editor cannot endorse. Students of Italian paintings are very familiar with the *prima*, the *seconda*, and the *ultima maniera* of certain artists. The foreign policy of the Government of India, which is the subject of the article in the *Edinburgh Review*, is in Mr. Wyllie's first manner, and it is also in his best. He then had a storehouse of accurate facts to resort to, and a sense of responsibility to guide his pen. The paper is, in consequence, excellent in language, convincing in statement, and admirable in tone. The first of the reprints from the *Fortnightly Review* brings us to the second stage. The author had not yet lost all the traditions of his service in the Foreign Office or the seal of official reticence and moderation. He still sees his way clearly through the tangled web of Afghan politics; he stigmatizes the wild proposal to occupy Quetta with just reprobation, as untenable on political, strategical, and financial grounds; and he sums up by showing clearly that it was the wisest course to allow Shere Ali to fight his own battles, and to help him by money and munitions only when he had recovered his paternal throne by sheer luck. Mr. Hunter remarks that the author, had he lived, would probably have revised his opinion, and that he would not have expressed himself with so much certainty as to the impolicy of an outpost at Quetta. Of course a change in affairs at Kabul may modify the opinion of statesmen older than Mr. Wyllie and almost as wise and experienced as Mr. Hunter; but the main arguments against occupying an outpost at a frightful expense and facilitating Russian advance by meeting it half way, remain just as tough and unsalable as ever. But this review will stand examination far better than the second reprint from the *Fortnightly*, to which its author was unhappily induced to give the sensational title of "Mischievous Activity." We read with some surprise Mr. Hunter's statement that he has reprinted it "with omissions and modifications of expression," such as the author "would have himself made, had he lived to reprint it at this date." Surely this is a violation of a very well-understood literary canon. Reprints

of exploded theories, discredited opinions, and prophecies scattered to the winds, may be extremely valuable. But then we require the very form and pressure of the time which has been described. And Mr. Hunter, admitting that he has touched up the picture, goes on to tell us that, after all, the likeness is a bad one, and that "in every point dealt with, from the instability of the Amir's rule and the danger of his administrative reforms, to the Seistan complication, and the evil effects of the Ambala Durbar in Russia and Persia," the events of the last five years have falsified the predictions of the essay. Mr. Hunter, with unconscious irony, has dealt a severe blow at those who sneer at the official mind, and he adds no less than nine foot notes to show indisputably where and how the writer went astray. The truth is that this paper had far better have been omitted. Released from official restraint, barred from reference to dull but exhaustive and accurate sources of information, and misled by the crude reasonings of "advanced thinkers," Mr. Wyllie surrendered his usual sound judgment, and penned what we are quite sure he would now have been the first to commit *flamma sive Mari Hadriano*.

The essay on Western China (*Edinburgh Review*, April 1868) is just the kind of useful paper which a clever author can put together from abundant materials regarding a country of which he knows nothing from actual observation or travel. It contains much valuable information, but we must point out that the writer's estimate of the "decadence" of China is entirely at variance with that of Sir Rutherford Alcock, who, we gather from his recent work, has a firm belief in the recuperative vigour and the undiminished resources of that enormous empire. The remaining paper about the Rao of Kutch and his kindred is one over which even the Prince of Wales's visit to India will hardly shed a gleam of interest. But it is an excellent specimen of the sort of "Note" or "Précis" which a young Under-Secretary will often have to draw up. In Indian official parlance, officers of the Secretariat write "Notes." Viceroy, Governors, and Councillors write "Minutes." But, on nearly all vexed, unpleasant, and complicated subjects the "Note" of the Secretary or Under-Secretary is usually the commencement of a paper warfare by the Indian Cabinet, and possibly the core of a Resolution which eventually discloses the Imperial policy to the outside world. The point may arise in this way. Some Resident or Political Agent writes a despatch to say that the relations between the Jam, or Rao, or Rana, or Maharaja of some out-of-the-way principality and his nobles, never cordial, have been again unsettled. The little State is threatened with financial discredit, open warfare, or ruinous intrigues. The *Senaputti*, or Commander-in-Chief, sides with one party because he is related to one of the Thakors by marriage. The *Mantri*, or Prime Minister, takes the opposite view because his grandfather had a dispute on a point of caste with the grand-uncle of the *Senaputti*, the merits of which no one but Sir John Malcolm ever professed to understand. Matters have reached such a pitch that the Paramount Power is bound to interfere. On receipt of this alarming despatch, the dusty records of the Foreign Office, extending from the era of Lord Wellesley to that of Lord Lawrence, are brought out of their pigeon-holes. The dispute, it seems, has never failed to come up at intervals under various phases for a period of seventy or eighty years. Lord Wellesley had sent Colonel Close to investigate the matter on the spot. The Marquess of Hastings had brought the inexpressible charm of his manner to bear on the disputants of his day, and had prevented an outbreak even in all the excitement of the Mahratta and Pindarrie wars. The quarrel revived in the time of Lord Auckland, who patched it up somehow, until our reverses at Kabul gave him something to settle besides the right of two claimants to nominate the priest of a certain temple, or to invest the successor to a fief by marking his forehead with a long streak of white paint. Lord Dalhousie, to whom this legacy had been bequeathed by Lord Hardinge, reviewed the correspondence of fifty years in a masterly minute, held that the sound rule of Lord Wellesley should never have been abandoned, reminded the combatants that neither of them could draw a sword or fire a matchlock without incurring the grave displeasure of the British Government, and carried with him, by his sagacious reasoning, his colleagues in Council, the whole Court of Directors, and the President of the Board of Control. After the Mutiny, the Prince and his turbulent barons had again to yield to the dignified remonstrances and the stately presence of Lord Canning in one of his imposing Durbars. Lord Elgin handed over the correspondence on this inflammatory topic, more bulky than ever, to Major-General Durand and to Sir Henry Maine; the former as being deeply versed in political precedents, and the latter in international law. In short, the case is found to resemble one of those old and interminable Equity suits in which every Lord Chancellor, at some period of his career, had held a brief or passed an order. In a comprehensive "Note," the Under-Secretary points out the landmarks of the Imperial policy, arranges the prominent facts, sends adrift all superfluous references, selects an important despatch by Colonel Tod, a warning administered by Lord William Bentinck, and a compromise in writing agreed to by the ancestors of the claimants, brings down the quarrel to the very last telegram from the Agent, and then leaves it to His Excellency in Council to say whether the subordinate of a subordinate noble is to have his forehead daubed by his immediate feudal superior, or whether this grave, time-honoured, and indispensable ceremony can be performed only by the Maharaja himself. "Forms are things with Orientals," said a master of this kind of statecraft; and on the right and timely settlement of some mysterious point of etiquette may hang not

merely the credit of a clever young official, but the contentment of a dozen "Barons," and the tranquillity of a province. The *précis* of Mr. Wyllie, which really differs little from the above sketch in scope or substance, is an excellent specimen of what a young man who has just gained his first in Moderations may be engaged on in a few years' time.

What we have felt it right to say regarding the not very judicious republication of one of the essays of Mr. Wyllie must not be taken as a dissent from the eulogy passed by Mr. Hunter on his friend. Heartily welcomed by the older race of Civil servants, honourably distinguished even amongst the clever men of his own generation, Mr. Wyllie, in his too short career, had already surpassed expectation, and had given reason to hope that he would eventually win some of the highest posts in the political or executive departments which it is in the power of the Indian Government to bestow.

#### ERASMUS ON PILGRIMAGES.\*

THE first edition of this book appeared, we believe, more than thirty years ago, and Mr. Nichols had begun revising it, with a view to bringing out a second, a few months before his death. The present editor tells us that he has made some further emendations; and he considers that the time is opportune for a republication, because, while at the period of its first appearance pilgrimage, in England at least, was a thing of the past, we have since witnessed a revival of the practice, though under altered conditions. We agree with him that these treatises of Erasmus are worth reprinting, and many of the illustrative notes are useful and appropriate; but there is too evident an attempt at book-making about some parts of the volume. Long extracts from Murray's Handbooks and some thirty pages of the *Times*' reports of pilgrimages to Pontigny, Paray-le-Monial, and Lourdes are quite out of place in such a work. Nor can we congratulate the translator on his success in carrying out his rather needlessly ostentatious disclaimer of writing "in any polemical spirit." There is throughout a too obvious disposition to make controversial capital out of the satirical comments of Erasmus, who certainly was not, as his translator is obliged to admit, a Protestant in the ordinary sense of the term—still less, like himself, an extreme Protestant. Erasmus censured roundly the superstitions and abuses prevalent in his Church at the time, as many sincere Roman Catholics would no doubt be ready to censure them now if the reins of ecclesiastical discipline were not drawn so much tighter than they were in the sixteenth century. But a writer who himself composed prayers to the Virgin, one of which is quoted here, entreating her to use her irresistible influence with her Divine Son, can hardly be said to conform to any Protestant standard of orthodoxy. The real interest of these Colloquies of Erasmus is historical, not controversial, and in this aspect they derive considerable interest both from the author and the subject-matter, which is not diminished but increased by the circumstance already referred to, that Erasmus continued to the last, as there is no reason to doubt, a sincere Roman Catholic. And if "it is easy at Rome to praise the Romans," the greater weight must attach from that fact to his censures. His main design in composing his "Pilgrimage" is very clearly summed up by himself in the following passage:—

In the "Peregrinatio Religionis ergo" I censure those who have violently ejected all images from churches: and then such as run mad upon pilgrimages undertaken under pretext of religion, for which now even associations are formed. Those who have been to Jerusalem are called knights, and they call one another brothers, and on Palm-Sunday seriously act a ridiculous farce, dragging along an ass with a rope, themselves being not much different from the wooden beast they draw. Those who have been to Compostella imitate the same thing. Such performances may be allowed indeed as an indulgence of men's fancies; but it is not to be borne that they should claim any pious merit in them. In this colloquy those also are stigmatised who exhibit doubtful relics for real, who attribute to them greater value than they are worth, or sordidly manufacture them for gain.

This view of the matter is fully borne out by the examination of William Thorpe, the Lollard, before Archbishop Arundel, about a century earlier, a part of which is here reproduced by Mr. Nichols. We subjoin one short passage:—

And again, I saide, as their workes show, the most parte of men and women that goe now on pilgrimages have not these foresaide conditions, nor joveyth to busie them faithfullie for to have. For, as I well know, since I have full oft assaid, examine, whosoever will, twenty of these pilgrimes, and he shall not find three men or women that know surely a commandment of God, nor can they say their Pater Noster and Ave Maria, nor their Creed readily in any manner of language. And, as I have learned, and also know somewhat by experience, of these same pilgrimes, telling the cause why that many men and women goe hither and thither now on pilgrimage: It is more for the health of their bodies then for their soules; more for to have riches and prosperitie of this world then for to be enriched with vertues in their soules; more to have here worldlie and fleshlie friendship then for to have friendship of God and of his saintes in heaven. For, whatsoever thing man or woman doth, the friendship of God, nor of any other saint, cannot be had without keeping of God's commandments.

To which, and a good deal more to the same effect, the Archbishop rather oddly replies:—

And the Archbishop said to me, Leud losell! thou seest not far enough in this matter, for thou considerest not the great travaile of pilgrimes;

\* *Pilgrimages to St. Mary of Walsingham and St. Thomas of Canterbury.* By Desiderius Erasmus. Newly Translated, with an Introduction and Illustrative Notes, by J. G. Nichols, F.S.A. Second Edition. London: John Murray. 1875.

therefore thou blamest that thing that is praisable. I say to thee, that it is right we do done that pilgrims have with them both singers and also pipers; that when one of them that goeth barefoot striketh his toe upon a stone, and hurteth him sore, and maketh him bleede, it is well done that he or his fellow begin then a song, or else take out of his bosom a bagpipe, for to drive awaie with such mirth the hurt of his fellow; for with such solace the travaile and wearinesse of pilgrimes is lightly and merrily borne out.

The short Colloquy of Erasmus on Rash Vows points in the same direction, as may be gathered from his own defence of it in his *De Utilitate Colloquiorum*, published at Basle in 1526, which is worth quoting:—

The Colloquy on visiting Sacred Places checks the superstitious and extravagant fancy of certain people who imagine it the height of piety to have seen Jerusalem: whither, over such wide distances of sea and land, run old bishops, leaving their flock, which ought to be tended; thither go men of rank, deserting their families and their estates; thither go husbands, whose children and wives require some guardian of their education and their modesty; thither young men and women, not without great danger to their morals and chastity. Some even go again and again, and indeed do nothing else all their lives; and all along the name of religion is given to superstition, love of change, folly, and rashness; and a man who, contrary to the doctrine of Paul, deserts his own, will carry off the credit of sanctity, and flatter himself that he has fulfilled all the requirements of devotion.

The "Pilgrimage" itself occupies about sixty pages only, nearly three hundred more being devoted to Notes and Introduction. It describes, in the form of a dialogue between Menedemus and Ogygius, the pilgrimages actually made by Erasmus to the shrines of Our Lady at Walsingham and St. Thomas at Canterbury, and should be read through, as it stands, to be appreciated; no selection of extracts would do justice to the general impression produced on the reader's mind. The most interesting of the notes, though they do not contain much that is new, are those which concern—to borrow the phraseology of Henry VIII.'s Proclamation in 1538—"the death, which they untruly called martindome, of Thomas Becket, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury"; an event which must always have an important place in the civil and ecclesiastical history of England, whether we regard the murdered prelate as a patriot and a saint, or, according to the Royal declaration, "rather esteem him a rebel and traitor." Mr. Nichols makes no secret of his own hearty adherence to the Tudor view of the matter. We have said that this is the most interesting portion of the notes, but here an important reservation must be made. For two minor tractates of Erasmus, of very considerable historical interest, are embodied in these notes; indeed, to our mind, they are more deserving of a permanent place in literature than the *Peregrinatio* itself. We mean the sketches of Dean Colet and of Archbishop Warham. Colet was an intimate friend of Erasmus, and was in many respects like him both in character and tone of thought, though a man of much deeper moral and religious earnestness. He was a reformer in the same sense that Erasmus was a reformer, and though he died several years before the beginning of the English Reformation, there is nothing to show that he would have gone along with the religious changes introduced, when the movement passed beyond the correction of practical abuses, any more than Erasmus did himself. In the correction of prevalent abuses and superstitions, however, the good Dean displayed, not, like Erasmus, a mere literary enthusiasm, but an active and resolute zeal; nor did he preach to others what he did not himself consistently practise. Thus we are told that, on being appointed by Henry VII. to the Deanery of St. Paul's, which then, as now, was "the foremost dignity of its kind in England," he considered himself "called to labour, not to dignity merely, amended the decayed discipline of his Chapter, and, what was then a new thing, began to preach on every feast in his church, besides the extraordinary sermons which he gave sometimes at Court, and sometimes in various other places." A large congregation collected to hear him at St. Paul's, among whom Sir Thomas More was one of the most regular attendants. His manner of life was simple and devout, and he spent large sums in charitable works. Of these, far the best known, of course, is the foundation "of a new school in the limits of St. Paul's, which he dedicated to the Boy Jesus," perceiving, observes his friendly biographer, that "the chief hope of the State consisted in the judicious education of youth." The masters were well endowed, that they might teach gratuitously, and the number of boys in the school was limited to 153:—

He divided it into four apartments. Into the first boys enter as catechumens, but no one is admitted that is not already able to read and write. The second receives those who are taught by the under-master; the third those whom the upper-master instructs. These two parts are separated from each other by a curtain, which is drawn, or withdrawn, at pleasure. Above the master's chair is a seated figure of beautiful workmanship, the Boy Jesus, in the attitude of teaching, whom the whole flock, on entering and leaving the school, salutes with a hymn; and above is the face of the Father, saying, *IRSUM AUDITE!* for these words he inscribed at my suggestion. In the fourth or last apartment is the chapel, in which divine service may be performed. The whole school has no corners or closets, so that it gives no room for eating or sleeping. Every boy has his own seat on benches, gradually rising, and at fixed intervals. Every class has sixteen, and the boy who heads his class has a seat a little raised above the rest. Nor is any applicant admitted indiscriminately, but a choice is made of dispositions and capacities.

Colet placed his new institution under the control of "certain married citizens" (the Company of Mercers) of approved character, for reasons of which Erasmus has elsewhere given rather a curious explanation in his dialogue *De Pronunciatioe*:—

*Ursus.* Thus John Colet, a man worthy of perpetual remembrance, when he had added a school for boys to the church of Saint Paul's, found his greatest difficulty in determining to whom he should consign the government of the institution. The bishops deem such a matter unworthy of their care. The schoolmen fancy their calling is rather to collect fees than take



charge of schools, and think they have filled their office fairly if they do not tithe the schoolmaster. In colleges of canons the worse part almost always bears sway. The magistrates either want judgment, or favour private interests.

*Leo.* What plan did he at last adopt?

*Uraus.* He set over his school a married man, and who was rich in children. He entrusted its superintendence to certain lay citizens, of whose integrity he thought so highly that he had good hope it would descend to their next heirs.

It is difficult for a man who has been trained in a one-sided or defective system, and has become alive to its weaknesses, always to preserve the balance of his judgment; and there is certainly an absence of all moderation in the language applied by Colet to the writings of Thomas Aquinas, though it may only mark a natural recoil from the almost idolatrous reverence paid to them during the later middle ages. "Why do you preach up that fellow," he replied to Erasmus, "who, if he had not great arrogance, would not have defined everything with so much rashness and so much dogmatism, and, if he had not possessed some worldly spirit, would not have so contaminated the whole doctrine of Christ with his own profane philosophy?" But this impetuosity of tone was very unusual with him. There is for the most part a judicial calmness about his estimate of men and things which, in an age of fierce controversy and sharp transition, is very remarkable. We are told, for instance, that he was not favourably disposed towards monasteries, and gave them very little, not that he disapproved of the religious orders—for he had entertained the idea of joining one—but because their members did not live up to their vows. To take again what has become a burning question in our own day, "whilst he strongly approved of secret (or auricular) confession, asserting that he had never derived from any other source so much spiritual consolation and support, he equally strongly condemned its anxious and too frequent repetition." It is amusing to find that one of the charges brought against him by his persistent enemy, the Bishop of London, who accused him to the Archbishop of heresy, was "that, when in his sermons he had said that some preached from book (*the lifeless practice followed by many in England*), he had obliquely reflected upon the Bishop, who, on account of his age, was accustomed to do so." This shows that the custom of preaching written sermons did not, as is often supposed, come in with the Reformation, and is rather an English than a Protestant peculiarity. The Archbishop treated these malicious charges against Colet as they deserved, and this leads us to notice in conclusion the character which Erasmus has left of him.

Warham, that "true primate, not only in rank, but also in every kind of merit," has hardly had justice done to his memory. He was eclipsed during life by the commanding figure of Wolsey, and the dignified quiet of his uneventful primacy is thrown into the shade by the stormy vicissitudes of the erratic career of his successor. Nevertheless, Archbishop Warham presents a graceful example of that special type of *mitis sapientia* which has in later days been admired, or its absence deplored, as the appropriate ornament of his high office. There is a story told of the late Dr. Candlish once having occasion somewhat reluctantly to seek an interview, on some matter of business, with Archbishop Howley. His Presbyterian prejudices were strong, and he was prepared to encounter a "prelate full of pride" when he entered the uncongenial precincts of Lambeth Palace; but he was agreeably disappointed. On his return he was heard to observe that the Archbishop seemed to move unscathed amid all the pomp of his surroundings (which at that period was still considerable) like the Three Children in the midst of the fiery furnace, and that he had never so truly felt himself in the presence of a man of God. We are reminded of this anecdote by Erasmus's description of his genial and munificent patron:—

Whilst very many others treat me with marked kindness, so chiefly does that my special Meceenas the Archbishop of Canterbury,—or rather not mine only, but the patron of all the learned, among whom I take the lowest place, if any at all. Almighty God! how felicitous, how copious, how ready, is the genius of that man! what skill in conducting the most important business! how extraordinary his learning! But then what unheard-of courtesy towards every one! what pleasantness in address! so that, in a manner truly royal, he dismisses no one from him depressed. Moreover, how great and what ready liberality! Lastly, in such an eminence of fortune and dignity, what an absence of pride! so that he alone appears to be unaware of his greatness. In protecting his friends no one is more faithful or more constant. In fine, he is a true primate, not only in rank, but in every kind of merit.

And after describing how Warham discharged the high and onerous duties of the Chancery, he thus proceeds:—

But at the same time he was so vigilant and attentive in matters relating to religion and his ecclesiastical functions that you would say he was engaged in no external concerns. He found time sufficient to discharge religiously the solemn duty of prayer, to perform mass almost daily, to be present besides at two or three services, to hear causes, to receive embassies, to advise the king if any thing of importance had arisen in court; to visit his churches, wherever his presence was required; to receive his guests, often amounting to two hundred; and lastly his leisure was given to reading. For occupations so various he found one life sufficient, no part of which he bestowed on hunting, none on dice, none on empty tales, none on luxury or pleasures. In the place of all these amusements he had either some agreeable reading, or conversation with a learned man. Although he sometimes had bishops, dukes, and earls as his guests, yet dinner was always finished within the space of one hour. In the midst of a sumptuous table, as his dignity demands, it is incredible to say how he abstained from all delicacies. He rarely tasted wine, but generally, when already a septuagenarian, used to drink very weak ale, which they there call beer, and even that very sparingly. Moreover, when he had taken the smallest quantity of food, yet with the kindness of his looks, and the cheerfulness of his discourse, he enlivened the whole table. You perceived the same gravity

either before or after dinner. He abstained entirely from suppers, or if some of his intimate friends, of which number we were, happened to be with him, he sat down, but scarcely touched the viands; but, if no such company were there, he spent the time of supper either in prayer or in reading. And as he abounded himself in very happy pleasantries, but far removed from bitterness or indecorum, so he was pleased with the more free jests of his friends: yet he shrunk as much from scurrility or detraction as any would do from a serpent. Thus this excellent man made those days abundantly long, of the shortness of which so many complain.

We have given somewhat copious extracts, as the best means of indicating to our readers what is chiefly of interest in this volume. It might have been compressed with advantage; but they may be content to overlook a good deal of superfluous padding—which is easily left on one side—for the sake of the really solid matter, in the shape of reprints and illustrations, which it contains.

#### BRIGHT'S ENGLISH HISTORY FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS.\*

SOME years ago, as we learn from Mr. Bright's preface, at a meeting of public school masters the want of a useful book of English history for school teaching was spoken of. Against the books ordinarily used were objected—"first, the absence of historical perspective, produced by the unconnected manner in which the facts were narrated, and the inadequate mention of the foreign relations of the country; secondly, the omission of many important points of constitutional history; thirdly, the limitation of the history to the political relations of the nation, to the exclusion of its social growth." It was suggested to Mr. Bright, who as Historical Lecturer in three Oxford Colleges, and late Master of the Modern School in Marlborough College, is well qualified to judge what are the requirements of teachers and learners, that he should "attempt to supply this want"; and the first instalment of the work thus undertaken, covering the period from 449 to 1485, is now before us. Mr. Bright tells us that "it was at first intended to approach the history almost entirely on the social and constitutional side"; but a short trial proved, what indeed we should have expected, that to do this would require such a constant employment of allusions, and so much previous knowledge on the part of the reader, as to be unsuitable for a school book. Constitutional history, in fact, is neither interesting nor even intelligible until the actual course of events has been thoroughly mastered; and still more is this the case with social history, which is, moreover, to a great extent a work of imagination. The stages of the growth of society are not recorded in chronicles or in State papers; and history socially treated is, in truth, the historian's opinion upon the mass of facts before him. When the laws of social science have been satisfactorily settled, we may hope to see some agreement among our philosophical and social historians; but at present the view they take of the growth of society depends very much upon their respective idiosyncrasies. Mr. Bright, however, lets us know that the decision "to limit the description of the growth of society to a few comprehensive chapters and passages" was taken against his inclination, although he adds that he can no longer regret it, "as the social side of our history has been so adequately treated by Mr. Green in his *History of the English People*." It may be easily supposed that a work on a plan approved by the united wisdom of a meeting of public school masters is a more steady-going and less new-fangled production than that of the brilliant writer to whom this compliment is paid. Mr. Bright half apologizes for being so far behind the times as to retain the usual division into reigns, rather than "disturb the knowledge boys have already gained by the introduction of a new though more scientific division." And so we are allowed to keep to a method of division which, if not "scientific," at any rate rests upon facts, and not upon theories. On the other hand, the modern school will be conciliated by finding the starting-point of the book taken at A.D. 449, and not B.C. 55. For constitutional or social history this is undoubtedly right, and the author truly remarks that the Roman rule has had little or no influence upon the development of the nation. Still a question might be raised whether in a narrative history it is not useful to have a slight preliminary sketch of the British-Roman period. We should be sorry to see the next generation grow up in ignorance of the "British warrior queen," though it is well that they should be warned that it is not her posterity who sway "regions Cæsar never knew." If we open the Old-English Chronicle we see that its compilers, though assuredly they were well aware that they themselves were Englishmen and not Welshmen, yet thought good to begin with the Britons and "Caius Julius, the Emperor." Mr. Bright dashes straight into his story without stopping to explain who the people then dwelling in Britain were:—

The dominion of the Romans in Britain had been complete. The country, as far as the Frith of Forth, had been brought under Roman civilization. But in England, as elsewhere, the continuance of that form of civilization had produced weakness; and the unconquered Britons of the North, known by the name of Picts, broke into the Romanized districts, and pushed their incursions far into the centre of the country. On all sides, the nations outside the Empire were breaking through its limits and threatening its existence. The danger which threatened the very heart of the Empire, from the advance of the Goths into Italy, compelled the Romans in 411 to withdraw their legions from Britain, and leave the inhabitants of the island to fight their own battles with the Picts.

\* *English History for the Use of Public Schools.* By the Rev. J. Franck Bright, M.A. Period I. Mediæval Monarchy. From the Departure of the Romans to Richard III., 449-1485. With Maps and Plans. Rivingtons: London, Oxford, and Cambridge. 1875.

Still this opening has the merit of brevity and decision, and would be clear, as far as it goes, was it not for the mention of *England* in Britain before the English came there. We may here note a remarkable entry under the year 1137, in the table of contents—"Last national effort of the English." It is really sad to think that for seven centuries we have never roused ourselves to make another national effort. However, to return to our heroic days, Mr. Bright gives a good description of the English conquest of Britain, and lays due stress on the point that it was "not only a conquest, but a re-settlement." When he unhesitatingly represents the first recorded trial of strength between Welsh and English, the battle of Aylesford, as an English victory, he enters upon debateable ground, as is evidenced by a recent critic having taken Mr. Green to task for holding the same view. These writers have, however, only followed the lead of Florence of Worcester, who says:—"Licet in ea pugna Hors occisus esset, Hengst tamen victoriam habuit; et post hæc cum filio suo Æsc regnare cepit." This may be merely an inference drawn by Florence from the language of the Chronicle, but it is at any rate not the invention of modern authors. Mr. Bright is seen at his best when giving an account of the general tendencies of a reign or a period, or when weighing one political force against another. In such passages his remarks are usually just and thoughtful, and clearly expressed. Thus, at the end of the reign of Edward IV., there is an excellent summary of the state of the nation under that prince, and the character of the monarchy he developed. The Introduction also, which gives a rapid sketch of the political growth of England, is in many points good, though we cannot see why "monarchy by Divine right" should be called "the logical offspring of feudalism." The tendency of feudalism was to destroy the central authority in all but name; and "Divine right" is traceable to clerical and legal rather than to feudal influences. Later on Mr. Bright shows that he understands the hostile attitude of the Norman kings towards feudalism, and he gives the true interpretation of the oath exacted at the Salisbury Gemôt of 1086, which has so often been thought to mark the introduction of the feudal system. The elaborate chapter on the "State of Society" from 449 to 1066 would, however, have been better without such frequent reference to "feudalism" and "the feudal system" before any explanation of those terms has been given. The narrative is for the most part dry, and in one or two places it reads as if it had been hastily abridged, rather than the injury of the story. Thus, in the account of one of the many crimes of Eadric Streona, we read:—

Eadric had of course joined the victorious party; but again his persistent treachery was the destruction of the country. He attracted to a meeting at Oxford, Sigferth and Morkere, Thegns of the Five Danish Burghs. The wife of Sigferth was kept a prisoner, and taken in marriage by Edmund Ironside, Æthelred's son. This Prince thus acquired possession of the Five Burghs, and secured an influence which enabled him to take up a position in opposition to Eadric.

Here one of the main incidents of the story, the murder of Sigferth and Morkere by Eadric, is left out, and it is never even hinted that Sigferth's wife was a widow when she was "taken in marriage" by Eadmund. There is a worse break between the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV., where all mention of the acknowledgment of Edward of York as King is omitted, and the reader is left to guess that "the young Earl of March" in one page is the same man as "Edward IV." in the next. In addition to its being a necessary link in the chain of events, the election or acknowledgment of Edward IV. by the lords in council and the people of London has a constitutional importance which should have prevented its being overlooked. So King Eadwig is introduced casually into the narrative without any explanation as to how he came to succeed Eadred. Nor do we think the relations between the young King Eadwig and Ælfgifu are fairly stated when the latter is described as one of the leaders in "a palace intrigue" and as having "obtained influence over the lad." The brief notice in the Chronicle, "In this year Archbishop Oda separated King Eadwig and Ælfgifu, because they were too near akin," implies a marriage, though an uncanonical one, of which Mr. Bright gives no hint. Bishop Birinus, the evangelist of the West-Saxons, should not have been reckoned among the missionaries from Lindisfarne. He had been consecrated in Italy, and came "cum consilio papæ Honorii" into Britain. From the dates, indeed, it would seem that he had begun his work among the West-Saxons before Aidan established himself in Lindisfarne. And as Aidan's presence in Northumberland was solely in consequence of King Oswald's application to the Scots for a bishop, it is rather unfair towards the sainted King that an unfortunate arrangement of tenses should make it appear as if, on coming to the throne, he had found Aidan already labouring among his people.

Neither the text nor the table of contents is by any means free from those slips of the pen or errors of the press which are of no great importance in themselves, but which are likely to mislead or puzzle learners. *Essex* occurs twice when *Wessex* would seem to be meant (pp. 20, 21); "Orford in Kent" is put for Oxford, as the scene of one of Edmund Ironside's victories over the Danes. The Earldom of Mercia, which is said at p. 23 to have been restored to Ælfgar after Godwine's death, should have been the Earldom of East-Anglia. And it is almost enough to make Mr. Freeman feel that he has lived and laboured in vain when Harold's foundation at Waltham is twice called an "Abbey," even though the offence is mitigated by the further statement that it was "occupied by secular canons." Æthelred the Unready's ac-

cession is in one place dated 975, instead of 979. William of Normandy's first conquest of Maine should have been dated 1063, not 1073. The day of his landing at Pevensey is not absolutely certain, but Mr. Freeman gives the weight of his authority to the date of the 28th, not, as here, the 29th of September. "Swend of Norway," at p. 45, should be Swend of Denmark; "King Robert," at p. 56, should be Duke Robert. The "Dictum of Kenilworth" should be dated 1266, not 1267. The "Extinction of the Scotch royal family" during the reign of Edward I. is dated 1282, four years before the male line was extinguished by the death of Alexander III. The great Statute of 1275, though rightly named in the text "of Westminster," appears in the table of contents as the "Statute of Winchester." Confusion on this point ought to have been the more carefully avoided because there exists a real Statute of Winchester, passed ten years later. In the text our attention is called to the form in which the Statute of 1275 is enacted. "The present statute [of 1275] was said to be enacted 'by the King by the advice of his Council and the assent of Parliament.'" This no doubt gives the sense, but it does not literally translate the formula, and therefore should not have been placed between inverted commas. The phrase "assent of Parliament" does not appear in the original, which, omitting unnecessary words, runs thus:—"Ces sunt les Establissemens le Rey Edward . . . , fez a Weymester a son primer parlement general . . . , par son conseil e par le assentement des Erceveskes, Eveskes, Abbes, Priurs, Contes, Barons, et la Communauté de la tere ileokes somons. . . ." The provisions of the Statute of Mortmain, 7 Edw. I. stat. 2, are described twice, in slightly different words:—first, that by this statute "it was forbidden, without the King's consent, to leave property to religious corporations"; secondly, that by it it was enacted "that no property should be given or left to the Church without royal permission." These statements seem to betray the common confusion between the 7 Edw. I. stat. 2. and the 9 Geo. II. c. 36, also known as the Statute of Mortmain. There is nothing said in the 7 Edw. I. about leaving property. It forbids any transaction whereby lands and tenements may any wise come into mortmain. Again, it is not, as Mr. Bright states, the Statute of Westminster (3 Edw. I.), which is renewed by the Statute of Stamford (2 Edw. II.), but part of the "Articuli super Cartas" (28 Edw. I. stat. 3). The Black Prince died in 1376—the year of the Good Parliament—not in 1377; and the omission of a figure—August 6 for August 26—antedates the battle of Crécy by twenty days; while Henry V. is said to have died September 21, instead of August 31. The date given in one place for Richard II.'s marriage with Isabel of France—1495, instead of 1396—is so obviously an error that it will probably not mislead any one. John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, who was beheaded after the affair of Hexham, was not "the third Duke of Somerset who had died in these wars," but the second. His brother, Edmund Beaufort, appears in the genealogical tables as "Edmund Beauchamp"; Edmund, Earl of Richmond, the father of Henry VII., is elevated to the rank of Duke, and Henry Courtenay, Marquess of Exeter, is called "Edward Courtenay." "Lord John Howard," afterwards the "Jack of Norfolk" who perished with "Dickon his master," at Bosworth, should be John, Lord Howard, his rank being then that of Baron. Nor had he, as stated in the text, "married into the Mowbray family." His connexion with the Mowbrays was, as Mr. Bright's own genealogical tables show, through his mother. Sir John Oldcastle is said to have been "put to death, not as a traitor, but as a heretic." He was put to death as both. The sentence is to be found in the Rolls of Parliament:—"q̄ le dit John, come Traitor a Dieu, & Heretik notorement approvee, & adjudge . . . ; & come Traitor au Roi & a son Roialme; soit amenee a la Tour de Loundres, & d'illeoques soit treinez p my la Citee de Loundres, tanq; as nouvelles furches, en la parochie de Seynt Gyles hors de la barre de Veille Temple de Loundres, & illeokes soit penduz & ars pendant."

These are matters which may easily be set right in a second edition, but the main fault of the book lies deeper. In plain words, it is very dull reading. A history which contains a great deal of precise information in a small compass can never of course be entertaining; but it might be sharper and more spirited than Mr. Bright has made it. His anxiety to crowd in as many facts as possible has probably a good deal to do with its general dreariness; the canvas is so full that no figure stands forth distinctly. No boy, however intelligent, could possibly regard it as anything but a dry lesson-book; and with all deference to the public school masters, this strikes us as a serious objection. As M. Jourdain said of the serenade submitted for his approval, "Je voudrais que vous la pussiez un peu ragailardir par-ci par-là."

#### TWO BOOKS ABOUT AUSTRALIA.\*

ALL books may be divided into three classes. The first and most honourable class are the books which are written; books which spring into existence in obedience to a genuine inspiration on the part of the writer; which express definite ideas of the literary kind that must clothe themselves in the shape of a literary work. Secondly, there are the books which are made; volumes supplied often quite independently of the capacity and taste of

\* *The Queen of the Colonies; or, Queensland as I Knew it.* By an Eight Years' Resident. London: Sampson Low, Marston, & Co. 1876.  
*Sketches of Australian Life and Scenery.* By One who has been a Resident Thirty Years. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1876.



their producers, merely to satisfy some popular craving. And, lastly, there are the *biblia abiblia* of Elia, books which are no books; written, that is, with no literary aim, but only as a vehicle for conveying the opinions or information of the author, just as a scientific treatise, or a blue-book, or a sermon, might be. As we have not all of us the idiosyncrasies of a Charles Lamb (indeed the world would be quite an unworkable concern were this the case), these *biblia abiblia* have a perfectly definite place in our literature. We criticize them on different ground from the books which are books, and we expect different things from them. It is only necessary to indicate in which class the work under notice is to be placed. When we say, therefore, that the *Queen of the Colonies* will be read, if read at all, simply for its information, we at once put aside all questions of style or external adornment. It is impossible to say how many people beside "intending emigrants" may want to know about Queensland; but those who do will not be disappointed if they turn to this book. The author gives a very clear and practical account of the present condition of that rising colony, especially as regards its wonderful agricultural resources.

The large supplies of Australian beef which are now consumed throughout this country ought to bring the agricultural districts of the colonies especially home to men's business and bosoms, and disabuse them of the still prevalent idea that the wealth of Australia consists chiefly in gold. This is very far from being the case in Queensland. There are indeed gold-fields and productive ones at Gympie, but the colony possesses much surer sources of wealth in her soil, her beautiful climate, and a coast more favourable to navigation than that of any other part of Australia. In respect of climate she is particularly fortunate. Though, as lying further to the north than any of the sister colonies, she has a greater degree of the sun's heat, this disadvantage is more than counterbalanced by a breeze which every day during the whole summer blows inland from the sea. "It usually begins to be felt about 9 A.M., before which time it will be hot. But as soon as the toiler feels the cooling breeze playing about his forehead he is sensible of a wonderful change. Although the sun rises higher and higher until it shines down the chimneys into the pots on the fire, the cool breeze tempers its rays and makes them bearable. Were it not for this breeze, we believe it would be almost impossible for the European to do much manual work in Queensland." As it is, he can work with as much comfort as in the Southern colonies, and with more safety. The climate so favourable to health is not equally so to agricultural purposes. Like all the other colonies of Australia, the farmer has much to fear both from drought and from floods—from the former chiefly if his farm is on the higher land called the forest, from the latter if it is on the rich alluvial soil at a less elevation which is called the "scrub." Perhaps it would on the whole be more correct to say that the farmer, or "settler," suffers most from the flood, and the cattle-feeder, or "squatter," from the drought; for the industry of Queensland is chiefly divided between these two pursuits, the neighbourhood of the coast being occupied as a settled or agricultural district, and the rest of the colony being the unsettled or pastoral country. With the growth of the colony the tendency will be to convert the latter into the former, and all the sympathies, as well as most of the information, of the writer are on the side of the settlers. At present, however, the profits on capital invested in squatting are very great. "Mr. Daintree, the Agent-General for Queensland, himself a squatter, and therefore speaking by the book, in his excellent handbook gives a statement showing that on a capital of 20,600*l.* there is an annual profit of 3,795*l.*, or 17½ per cent., on fat cattle sold, without any calculation as to the natural increase, while on a larger capital the profits would be considerably more." A great impulse has been given to squatting by the introduction of meat-preserving. Of course, the land occupied in this way is enormously greater than that which is settled. In the settled districts, which are marked out by the Land Act, free selection for cultivation is lawful, while in the unsettled the land is leased from the Crown. Not less than twenty-five square miles can be taken in one block, the lease being in all cases for twenty-one years. For this area the annual rental is only 6*l.* 5*s.* for the first seven years, 12*l.* 10*s.* for the second, and 18*l.* 15*s.* for the third.

As has been the case in all the colonies of Australia, the prosperity of Queensland has often been impeded by sudden fluctuations in the labour market. Originally a penal settlement, the labour employed when squatting first began to be followed on the Darling Downs in 1829 was what was called "assigned" labour—the labour, that is to say, of convicts assigned by the Government to the squatters and paid for only by rations and clothing. The squatters being themselves the magistrates of the district, it may be imagined that this system was open to all kinds of abuse. An unscrupulous squatter might, if a valuable servant were nearing the end of his term, trump up a false charge against him, or at least exasperate him to some attempted act of violence, hurry him before a brother magistrate, and have him reassigned for a fresh term. In fact, the convict labourers were much in the position of serfs, and when in 1842 the district of Moreton Bay was thrown open to free immigration, and the convicts removed, the old squatters were not more pleased than the nobility of Russia after the recent emancipation. Many schemes for the introduction of cheap labour were tried without success; Chinese were brought in, and coolies were proposed. But there can be no doubt that the productiveness of the country would have easily met the increase in the price of labour, had it not been for the English cotton

famine of 1863, which flooded the colony with thousands of factory hands totally unused to agricultural work; in four years the population rose from 38,198 to 94,710. The Immigration Act not having provided for the exportation of factory hands, the country was for a while impoverished; and the difficulties of the farmer were further increased by the discovery of the Gympie gold-fields in 1867-68, and the rush consequent upon that discovery. These circumstances led to the introduction of Kanaka labour, a measure which has been the cause of the greatest possible stir in Queensland. The Kanakas are the Polynesian islanders, who, according to the Polynesian Labourers' Act which was passed in 1868, might be engaged for a period of three years at the rate of 6*l.* per annum, besides food and clothing. It may well be supposed that the passing of this Act was looked on with the greatest disfavour by the poorer class of immigrants, and with suspicion by philanthropists and by the Government at home. Nor were the employers and exporters of black labour long in giving tangible grounds for these suspicions. It was found that many clauses of the Act might without much difficulty be evaded, especially that which provided that the agreement with the Kanaka was to be witnessed, "by a consul, missionary, or some other respectable person, who would be requested to sign a document stating that the natives came willingly, and understood the nature of the agreement." As, moreover, in the South Seas each chief is absolutely master of the lives of his subjects, it was suspected that, by a judiciously arranged present to the chief, a certain number of his tribe could be induced to agree to the terms proposed, however unwilling they might really be to surrender their freedom. These facts were quite sufficient to rouse the indignation of the philanthropists, and we confess that from some of the stories told in these pages there seem to have been strong enough grounds for putting an end to the traffic, quite apart from those personal ones which influenced the more ignorant labouring classes against the labour which competed with them in the market. Many members of the Government of Queensland were, however, interested in the black labour trade, and it is improbable that they would themselves have assisted in its suppression. At length, in 1871, a circular from the Colonial Secretary obliged the Queensland Government to put in force the clause of the Act providing for the sending of a Government agent in each vessel. Since then, owing to the pressure of public opinion, the black labour trade has gradually died away. Such is in outline the writer's account of this interesting question; and it will be seen by those who have read Mr. Trollope's book on Australia that the opinions of our author differ materially from his. The real question, however, which must decide the desirableness of introducing black labour is whether the European is capable of doing the work required for some forms of agriculture, especially that of sugar-growing; and this is a question which can only be answered by those who are well acquainted with the Queensland climate. These chapters on labour form perhaps the most novel and instructive portion of the book. Those on the Gympie gold-fields are also well worth reading. On the whole, though it is arranged in rather a disjointed way, there is a great deal of useful information in the *Queen of the Colonies*.

*Sketches of Australian Life and Scenery* is a book of a different kind. It belongs to the order of books which are made, and may be looked upon as dedicated to a peculiar class of readers. Beside those who read books of travels for the sake of definite information, there are others who seem to exist almost entirely upon this kind of literature. With a sort of Puritan contempt for fiction, and yet not studious enough to undertake severer studies, they are under immense obligations to those—and your traveller is just such a one—who can offer them an intellectual food which, without putting too great a strain upon their attention, shall still afford a solid nourishment of fact. For them especially spring into existence those somewhat hybrid works called "Sketches," "Journals," "Trips to the Antipodes," and the like—books which, while they profess not to relate anything very new or striking, do nevertheless give the actual experiences of the writer. The only other feature in a book beside that of fact which these readers demand is that the events narrated should have taken place a considerable distance off. Given these two conditions, they are content not to be over-nice about power of description or delicacy of style, or even about the novelty and excitement of the incidents related. Perhaps it is the certainty of an appreciative audience that produces the self-confident garrulosity so distinctive of books of this class. Doubtless the author knows that from the moment he lands upon the new shore, when in all probability "the calling of the coolies, the swearing of the troopers, the neighing of horses, and the cries of the women, combined to produce a scene which may be more easily imagined than described," they will follow his career with interest; that they will not weary of the record of how Captain Brown shot his buffalo on Monday, and Dr. Robinson returned with an empty bag on the Wednesday; everything, so long as it really did happen, is fish for the basket of such readers as these. The "actual objective existence," as the philosophers say, of Tito Melema, or of Rebecca Sharp, is unfortunately even less than problematical; but that the coolies did on that particular occasion call out in the manner hinted at, seems beyond all reasonable question.

Now, as the existence of any product of nature is justified rather by its fitness for the function it has to fulfil than by its inherent beauties, we are rendered diffident in our criticisms of such a work by our imperfect knowledge of the mental constitution

of those for whom it is written. When, therefore, the author tells us that "an irresistible impulse" prompts him "to speak out and tell of the motley characters, strange incidents, and changing circumstances which make up the episode of colonial life," and asks us, as he does more than once, "Why should I not try?" we feel at once that we have no valid objection to offer. An "irresistible impulse" is not to be gainsaid, and we can only hope that an impulse equally irresistible will compel an appreciative public to buy and read his book. No carping criticism of ours, we can assure him, shall interfere with so satisfactory a result; the less so as the book really seems rather good of its kind than bad. The author cannot indeed quite rid himself of the garrulosity which distinguishes his order. The keenest appetite for facts would, we imagine, scarcely care to be informed that at Melbourne as elsewhere people are liable to be bitten by mosquitoes. "I do not forget the astonishment with which I beheld my face in the glass next morning. It was covered with crimson blotches, of various sizes; one eye swollen and painful. I had not thought of mosquitoes when I decided to occupy a bedroom abutting on the river." Nor can we consider Dr. Lay's coachman Thomas deserving a place in a gallery of motley characters. Too much of the book is of this character, but there are left very tolerable pickings for those who have the leisure and the taste for such narratives. The author has really lived through a remarkable period in the history of Australia, and describes his experiences sufficiently well to make many of them very striking and suggestive. He has, as he tells us, seen three phases of Australian life:—

The easy-going, comfortable times when the squatters were kings, and used their wealth right royally.

The bustling days of excitement, when the diggers were kings, and used their wealth right madly.

The settled, prosperous times when the banks and merchants are kings, and use their wealth right prudently.

And the social changes which these three phases embrace are greater than most countries pass through in a century. In spite of all the hints and gleanings we may get from historians or romancers, English and American, the era of the gold fever in Australia still wants its *rites sacer*; so perpetually interesting from all points of view, moral, social, and political, must be the spectacle of a society subject to a sudden fluctuation or acquisition of wealth. The second phase of Australian life therefore furnishes the author with his best stories and most striking descriptions. Unfortunately these pages form but a very small portion of the book. After about the first third, which is supposed to take us through thirty years of the writer's colonial life, we are landed upon the present time, ushered in by the arrival of the author's half-sisters from England, and the rest of the book drags to a close with the very slightest of love stories which we ever remember to have read. Matrimony must be sadly on the wane in the colony if the author can place the marriages of Jessie and Margaret and the events which led up to them in the category of "strange incidents" to which he has been a witness. But we rather fancy he holds a theory which we have always secretly attributed to Mr. Henry Kingsley—namely, that no human being can ever be expected to read a book through to the end, so that the construction of its latter half is of the smallest possible consequence.

#### LASLETT'S TIMBER TREES.\*

**A**MIDST an abundance of interesting and useful books on ornamental trees and timber, there has been a scarcity of succinct handbooks upon the commercial and domestic aspects of dendrology. Treatises on shipbuilding and naval construction are as uninviting in form to the general reader as stiffly scientific botanical works; and Mr. Laslett has obeyed a sound instinct in striking out a new path, and trying to convey information respecting the properties, strength, and preservation of the chief timbers in use, whether for ship or house building, joinery or cabinet-making, along with a lucid account of the trees which yield such timber. It is not indeed to be expected that such a book should be either amusing or untechnical; it is enough if it presents matter for the curious to digest, and gives a zest to the work of the amateur planter not unconnected with thoughts of prospective profit, assuring the latter of the unapproached superiority of British oak, and interesting the former with details of African, Australian, American, and New Zealand trees, which supplement, if they cannot supplant, the native commodity. From the nature of Mr. Laslett's life-long occupation, and the opportunities he has had, in the service of the Admiralty, of seeing the forests of the Old and New Worlds, it is clear that he possesses great qualifications for his task; and, whilst we leave his figures and tables to practical and professional readers, it may be worth while to cull from the volume a few points of interest for the general reader touching the growth, structure, strength, and weakness of trees, which are closely connected with the interests of man by land and water.

The introductory chapters place before the reader a clear idea of stem-growth in trees, of the pith or centre, or, in the tree's converted state, its innermost layer of heart-wood, and of the medullary rays through the contact of which with the annual layers the sap ascends; of the conversion of "albumum" or sapwood, into "duramen" or heart-wood, and other processes of tree-life. In computing the age of a tree by its rings or circles of lignine, Mr. Laslett seems

disposed to leave open the question whether in tropical climates each of these represents a year's growth, or whether in such regions three or four layers may not have been formed in the same period of time. Generally, however, he accepts the rule as a guide to a tree's age at the time of felling—that is to say, where the rings are clearly defined and concentric; whilst in other cases recourse must be had to historical and traditional records. The evidence which these circles afford of the duration of life in trees is one of the curiosities of vegetable longevity. As indices of deterioration in trees past maturity (discernible of course by examination after felling), our author notes a white or yellowish-red colour at the butt, the latter passing into a red or "foxy" hue, which betokens extensive decay. A more visible token, however, is when the topmost branches grow stunted and "stag-headed," for which reason trees should be chosen for felling which have their top branches strong, pointed, and vigorous. Upon the question of growing such trees as the oak in sheltered places or in the open ground or hedgerow, it is found that the former make the softer wood, through lack of breathing-space, but "have the compensating advantage of being very free from local defects." The latter are more productive of the "crucked uns," as the woodman calls them, which contractors covet for navy purposes, and which are, with all their lower lateral branches, much the harder and more compact. Mr. Laslett shows, what would at first sight seem paradoxical, that trees improve in form, shapeliness, and straight growth not so much when young as later on in years, and then very gradually. He also notes a fact which is the basis of one or more of his subsequent theories, that variations of temperature, violent storms, and nearness to seas or large rivers affect the quality and rate of growth of trees. It is a plausible conjecture that these have to do with that particular defect in trees which is called "cup-shake," and which consists in the separation—mostly in the region of the roots—of two of the concentric layers, from defect of cohesive matter. Cup-shake is often limited to partial disjunction of this nature; but where it is complete it is apt to pervade the tree to its serious detriment in the timber-market. Other "shakes" are the *heart-shake*, extending in various bad splits from the pith to two-thirds of the diameter of the tree, and *star-shakes*, or clefts, which radiate from the centre or pith to the circumference of the tree, and render it useless for boards or small scantlings. This last defect is commonest in trees grown on a sandy or rocky soil; but all the three limit the convertible quantity of timber in a tree where they occur, as do also excrescences, and external swellings arising from over-close pruning of branches, though the burrs on the oak from the puncturation of insects do not affect its quality, and in Austrian and Turkey walnut-wood is enhanced in value by a mottled figuring, which is prized for veneering. It is by giving the details of these defects and hints, and showing how to detect or prevent them, as well as by a tabular record of experiments on larger scantlings instead of smaller pieces of wood, as was the old fashion, that Mr. Laslett aims at enabling the engineer or architect to select the species most suited to his purpose, to determine the scantlings, and to economize the process of conversion.

Among the three distinct species of British oaks, the rare *Quercus pubescens* or Durmast oak is inferior, and of comparatively small account; and as to the vexed question of superiority between *Q. pedunculata* (with footstalks of flowers and acorns long, and of leaves short) and *Q. sessiliflora* our author is clearly of opinion that it is made too much of (as the difference can only be traced in timbers by access to the converters); but he holds the preference accorded by current belief to *Q. pedunculata* as so far fortunate, as it is most abundant, and highly deserving of perpetuation in future plantations, though the *Sessiliflora*, with its greater length of clear stem, yields the best return commercially. Fine specimens of the latter may be seen in Dean Forest, but *Pedunculata* is less subject to cup-shake. Perhaps the greatest merit of both is a wonderful toughness and hardness, with scarcely the slightest tendency to splinter or warp. If kept wholly under water, this toughness of the oak is endless. On the other hand, its powerful pyroligneous acid prevents its general use in immediate contact with iron, as in such a case the iron corrodes, and the wood suffers waste and deterioration. It is on this account that the teak tree, of which the chief forests are now in Burmah and Siam, and of which the resinous oil resists the action of water and also keeps iron from rusting, and the acidless Angelique from French Guiana are preferred in English and French dockyards for the backing of armour-plates in ironclads (see pp. 114 and 149). Although, of course, the last-named fashion in ships of war might seem an extinguisher to oak, as far as shipbuilding is concerned, it is interesting to learn from Mr. Laslett's statistics of the timber-stores at Woolwich that the total quantity of loads of it maintained there in 1865 was more than five times as large as in 1845. In these storings a preference has long prevailed for winter-felled over spring-felled oak, as trees cut down when the sap is quiescent are better in quality and durability. Mr. Laslett's experience, however, goes to show that premiums for winter-felled timber offered a few years ago were comparatively impotent, being outbidden by the consideration of the bark.

It is impossible to say more here of the experiments on the strength of the standard British oak, which serve as a guide as regards the strength of its substitutes, and of the Dantzic fir, which Mr. Laslett takes as a standard of all the soft or white woods, than that they are directed towards testing the transverse strength, the tensile strength, and the vertical strength (or resistance to crushing force applied in the direction of the fibres) of these and other kinds of timber, and that he claims to have extended the

\* *Timber and Timber Trees, Native and Foreign.* By Thomas Laslett, Timber Inspector to the Admiralty. London: Macmillan & Co. 1876.



previous range of these experiments, which are as difficult and tedious as they are important. The results are shown, page after page, in the comparative estimates of the woods passed in review in the course of this book, but the general reader breathes more freely when he escapes from the region of tables and statistics. We find that the French oak of the North-West provinces is said to have all the good points of British, except length, and uniform breadth; it is more tapering in form, and generally shorter and smaller, but is less apt to split. The best Italian oak, less elastic and a little heavier than ours, but hard, horny, tough, and strong, is unfit for planks, boards, and small scantlings by reason of its "shakes," but excellent for the framing of ships of war, for which purpose it is used to nearly the full growth of the tree. For the same purpose the American Live-oak (*Quercus virens*), a smaller evergreen tree from the Southern States of America, which is of much the same character as the Italian, with logs usually crooked or compassed in shape, is also suited, by reason of its great strength; but it is limited to ships of such burden as require only small scantlings. The Italian oaks are all hard to work, as, according to Mr. Laslett, temporary sawyers at the dockyards know, and show that they know. Our Royal dockyards got a great deal of it in 1860-3, before the advent of ironclads, much of which is still on hand and perfectly sound. Dantzic oak, so called from the port of shipment to which it is brought from Polish forests down the Vistula, is straight grown, moderately strong, hard, and rather porous, and has medullary rays in its timber so bright and distinct as to qualify it, for the same reason, though not in the same degree, as the Riga oak timber, for wainscot, ornamental, and cabinet purposes. Though used for building merchantmen, Dantzic oak is only used for the decks of our men-of-war, for which it is a speciality, because it stands the wear and tear of gun-carriages. One of its merits is that, besides being straight-grained, clear, and knotless, it is pliable when boiled or heated; a property which the white American oak, also very elastic and capable, when steamed, of being brought to any curve, shares with it. This latter thrives in Maryland, and is spread over a large tract between 28° and 46° N. latitude. It is a disparagement to the Dutch and Rhenish oak that the parcels of it which have come to the London market gave token of having been dressed to produce a greater curve than was natural, with a view to make them seem adapted for shipbuilding. The bait did not take (p. 98), but the fact is an index to the appreciation of crooked trees for navy purposes. Of other European oaks, Belgian and Piedmontese appear nearest to the standard of English and Western French. The Spanish is small and soft, apt to shrink, and much given to star-shake. Of the Turkey oak, or Broussa timber, Mr. Laslett complains that it is hard to form a thorough estimate, as the lazy Turks select the "mildest"—that is, those easiest to work—specimens in their dockyards. A far better supplement to our native store than any of the last named is found in the American oaks at which we have glanced, the Live-oak being probably stronger than any oak known. This, however, is far from being the case with the Baltimore oak, which is not as strong as the best fir or pine, and will soon decay without paint. The Canadian oak (*Q. rubra*) is of superior dimensions, and in much request with the cabinet-makers, but without strength or durability for architectural or engineering works. For such purposes the white American oak is better adapted, as it has little shrinkage, and will bear almost any exposure. Mr. Laslett pronounces it "by far the best foreign oak timber of straight growth and large dimensions for constructive purposes that has ever been imported."

Of the Indian teak tree there is no fear of exhaustion, seeing that Siam and Java will keep up the supply if Burmah fails. In the East Indies its high growths make lower masts for ships of two thousand tons burden, but the Burmese import it in short logs to avoid duty and the difficulties of forest and steam transit. To make it ready for use on delivery in England, they "girdle" (or cut through and remove a complete ring of the bark and sapwood) the tree three years before felling it, which renders the timber brittle, and extends heart-shake. In Burmah, too, there grows a straight clean-stemmed acacia of eighty feet in the clear, and of large girth, called the Piengadu, or Iron-wood tree, which combines the properties of wood and iron, and is said to be quite ball-proof. It seems fit for any work of construction demanding extra strength, as does the Bornean Chow, which is of lesser dimensions, and has been approved at Woolwich. In the Philippine Islands the Lauan wood is so tough and ball-proof that it furnished the outside planks of the old Manila and Acapulco galleons. The African teak is a very valuable timber, and a link between our oak and the Indian teak, but is depreciated by the awkward shape in which it is brought to market. A more curious tree, and one among several valuable productions of Guiana and the West Indies, is the Greenheart or Nectandra Rodiazi, which furnishes timber of from twenty-four to fifty feet long, and twelve to twenty-four inches square. There is a virtue in its bark, in that it possesses an alkaloid which is quinine without its headachy results; and it is also an almost imperishable wood, hard, heavy, tough, elastic, and waterproof. It is also singularly knotless. Tried by transverse or tensile strain, or by crushing force in the direction of its fibres, its strength is exceptional. The last-named test exhibits in it a peculiarity shared only with the *Sabicu*, a hard wood of twisted fibre from Cuba. As Mr. Laslett puts it, "it bears the addition of weight after weight without any signs of yielding, and, when the crushing force is obtained, it gives way suddenly and completely with a loud report, nothing being left of the pieces but a loose mass

of shapeless fibres." The *Sabicu*, like the Greenheart, will stand any exposure to weather; but is found, on conversion, to be liable to a singular cross fracture, the longitudinal fibres of the early and middle age of the tree being broken, while the outer woody layers of the duramen and alburnum are perfect. Mr. Laslett inclines to the opinion that this is attributable to the storms and hurricanes which sweep the island, snapping, but not breaking off, the stem, whilst the later growth strengthens and conceals the defect.

As a match for the Greenheart in being proof against time and weather, mention must be made of the Australian Tewart, a variety of the Eucalyptus, or Gum Tree. It is found in the districts of Swan River and King George's Sound, is of straight and noble dimensions, and yields timber of much the same bulk as the Greenheart. Close-textured, of twisted grain and thorough soundness, it has the great advantage of neither shrinking nor splitting. It is probably too heavy for domestic uses, but excellently adapted for piles or dockgate framing. Other varieties of the Eucalyptus are subject to the "shakes," and so not very solid in the centre. Perhaps the most popularly known of them is the Eucalyptus globulus, or Blue Gum Tree, which grows abundantly in Australia and Tasmania up to two hundred or three hundred feet, with a diameter of from six to twenty-five feet. It is used for keels, beams, and planking in ships, as well as for fencing and other purposes in civil architecture. It is almost needless to add that it is the famous "disease-destroying tree," which has wrought such wonders in the fever-stricken districts of the Cape, in Algiers, and in Cuba, and which, if it can be acclimatized in other than hot climates, promises to banish fever and malaria.

Enough has been said of Mr. Laslett's handling of the subject, so far as relates to British and foreign oaks, to satisfy those who examine the part of his book dealing with miscellaneous native and foreign deciduous trees, as well as of the firs, pines, and larch which play so large a part in the timber-yards and in works of naval and civil construction, that they will find it treated with a masterly experience and intelligence. He is very clear in explaining the distinction between the British oak and Spanish chestnut, and assists the novice in arriving at the now general conclusion that what was once deemed to be the later in our oldest and best specimens of civil architecture was really the earlier. He gives a handy rule of precedence and quality in the purchase of foreign deals and battens, and enforces the golden advice that "the larch is the most profitable tree to plant on a poor soil." He fires our longing for Douglas pines at home like those from Oregon and North-Western America, which cannot compete with Canadian and Baltic firs in the London market because of the heavy freight charge. "Visent ea poma nepotes!" And lastly he works up our wonderment to the highest point by his account of two giant specimens of the Kauri pine in New Zealand—one forty-eight feet in girth at three feet from the ground, and the other seventy-two, and measuring respectively sixty-six and eighty feet to the branches. Of exceptionally slow growth (an inch of wood in seven years), these trees are computed to be 1,300 and 2,000 years old. Of course they are almost impossible to move, if felled; but more manageable samples are exported by private adventure, in spite of the great costs of working and freightage, and serve for masts and yards, decks of yachts, and joiners' and cabinet-makers' purposes, being unrivalled as well in lightness, elasticity, strength, and durability as in knotlessness, pleasant odour, and a sort of satinwood lustre about the planed boards.

But we must not ramble on, though the subject is unexhausted. Suffice it to say that the practical timber-buyer and the amateur timber-grower, the man who contemplates standing trees for pleasure and eye-service, and the man who inspects them, when felled and converted, with an eye to profit, will alike derive advantage from the study of Mr. Laslett's book.

DIANA CAREW.\*

THE character of an *ingénue* requires more subtle and delicate handling than perhaps any other in that queer storehouse of fancies where authors keep their lay figures. The innocence which is not silliness, the ingenuousness which is not conscious pretence, the impulsiveness which is real and not the result of rapid calculation as to the effect which it will produce and the appearance which it will have, all are qualities of exceeding difficulty to portray with grace and skill. To the uncritical part of Mrs. Forrester's readers her *ingénue* may possibly appear all that is lovely and real, but those who understand the method of workmanship better will probably find her a mass of contradictions, wearisomely self-conscious, and a simulacrum rather than a living person. The author lays stress on the fact of Diana's constancy; we are called upon to note that neither the deep love of a noble-hearted man, nor the frank adoration of a fine-natured youth, nor yet the temptation which wealth and rank naturally offer to a penniless little country girl, could lead her away from the passion which she fashioned for herself out of a pair of blue eyes and an insufferably coxcombical manner. We, however, see nothing ennobling either in her love or her constancy. That instinctive passion which some writers seem to think the best kind of love

\* *Diana Carew; or, for a Woman's Sake.* By Mrs. Forrester, Author of "Dolores," "My Hero," &c. &c. 3 vols. London: Hurst & Blackett. 1876.

that woman can feel is not, to our mind, so respectable as it is sad. We may pity the temperament which is prone to so ignoble a form of attachment, but we cannot idealize it, or hold it worthy of commendation; and the history of a young woman who lets herself love with unmistakable passion a man whose only merit is his beauty has an unpleasant flavour in it which not all Diana's fidelity nor Charlie's after devotion can do away with. "Hot love," with no deeper root than physical beauty on both sides, and opportunity to aid in the fascination of the senses, is not the most delightful form under which to paint the passion that has made men and women heroes and saints; but it is apparently the best that the author has been able to depict. The manner in which this story is told is not more to our taste than is the motive. When an author writes "Neither Colonel Fane nor I are," and the hero says "Let Miss Carew and I have our little secrets"; when a good-looking young cornet speaks of boys as "so lungeous," and a high-born lady says of a youth whom she has known, so far as we can make out, for about twenty-four hours, yet whom she calls by his pet name of "Curly," "I'm sure you would not swagger about a thing you could not do, and if you dance as well as you ride I should not mind waltzing all night with you"; when one married woman makes herself seductive to young men, and another meets her former lover in secret, and bewails her sad fate as represented by her husband—we know what we have to expect further on.

The characters of Lord Rexborough, Lady Gwyneth Desborough, Mrs. Huntingdon, and even Captain Montagu himself, Diana's idol and Mrs. Forrester's hero, are all simply odious; while Sir Hector Montagu is a monstrosity, apparently taken from life as to the leading lines, and tortured by exaggeration into a caricature. Lord Rexborough, it seems, was once a good, honest, but rather uncouth fellow, by name Jack Blount, who, without a sixpence, falls in love with the horsey Lady Gwyneth, the portionless daughter of an impecunious earl. He receives his dismissal, and she marries Mr. Desborough, who is generally called a "cad," by way of special description; though one does not see why he should be singled out for a term of opprobrium which would be more or less appropriate to all the characters alike. After she has married her cad, whose real name is Puggins, some obstructive relatives go to the bottom of the sea, and Jack Blount becomes Lord Rexborough. But in the brutal "satyr," who talks of Diana as a "clean-limbed and thoroughbred filly" whose "looks he likes," who stares with "bold eyes," and talks in a style "such as I should imagine," says Diana, "a commercial traveller might adopt to a barnyard," who makes love as much by personal violence as by impudent words, disgusting leerings, "hot breath," and the rest of it, we fail to see a trace of the rough and honest lover which we are expected to believe he had been in the days gone by; just as we fail to see in Lady Gwyneth one solitary trace of beautiful womanhood or the possibility of past sweetness. We have no kind of sympathy with the woes of young women who sell themselves to hateful husbands. They make the bargain with their eyes open, and the morality which pities them and finds excuses for their bad behaviour afterwards is fatally false and unjust. The horsey Lady Gwyneth, bold, fast, unwomanly, unwifely, with her inextinguished passion for her brutal Orson whose merits not the most charitable critic can discover, makes a picture wherein there is not a single trait to be commended; and Mrs. Huntingdon, though more lightly sketched, is no better. Lady Gwyneth is impudent, Mrs. Huntingdon seductive; but neither one nor the other is a fit companion for the *ingénue*, suddenly carried away from "nurse," papa, and the chickens, to be launched in the midst of very bad society, and that too by one who is spoken of as a womanly and very charming woman. We scarcely think, too, that such a person as Mrs. Warrington, who is meant to be all that is sweet and gracious, would have asked an Eton boy of fifteen, and his sister three years older, to meet such a questionable set as she had gathered round her. The Lady Gwyneths, Mrs. Huntingdons, Lord Rexboroughs, and even Charlie Montagus of the fast world are not usually given such prey as Diana and "Curly" Carew; and that Mrs. Warrington should have invited the two kinds of people together shows a strange want of perception in the author. The scenes where Diana is subjected to Lord Rexborough's peculiar method of love-making; those where Lady Gwyneth tries her hand on Curly; where Curly gets drunk; and where Diana shows her passion for Captain Montagu, are all in the worst possible taste, the "bad flavour" predominating in some, with infinite silliness in others.

When we come to life as it passes at Alford Court, with Sir Hector Montagu and his sons, we wonder still more from what odd depths the author has fished up her hideous models. Sir Hector is as great a brute in his way as Lord Rexborough is in his. He bullies his wife, who lives in tears and submission; is a demon to his servants, an autocrat to his sons; but in return those sons abuse him roundly to his young guest, and ask their mother "Don't you long and pray for the old man's death?" It is handsome Charlie who says this, with more to the same purpose; mimicking his father's manner, saying confidentially to "the Mater," "What on earth made you marry the Governor?" asking Diana what sort of time she has had—"Has my father d—d the servants much?" and offering, with her help and countenance, to "make the old gentleman an apple-pie bed," to hide his brushes, tie a string to his bed-clothes, or "practise any other witty little joke of the kind." Even solemn Hector, who is the *preux chevalier* of the story, follows suit, and thinks it no shame to show his hatred of his father to the girl whom he wishes to

make his wife. If this is the author's experience of the gentry of England, we think it would have been more patriotic had she kept it to herself. Let us hope, however, that her country baronet is as purely her own invention as her *ingénue* and her grammar, and that a Sir Hector Montagu, whose "lady was the Fetish he banged and battered incessantly," belongs to the world where the Japanese mermaid and the heraldic griffin are mainly to be found.

The ingenuousness of Diana is again one of those circumstances of a novelist's fancy which have no foundation in fact. She is eighteen when she pays her first visit to Mrs. Warrington; and at eighteen most young women, however innocent, have certain provisions of reticence and caution which prevent them from making absolute fools of themselves. But Diana is far too much of an *ingénue* to feel her way with anything like tact; and her confidences to Colonel Fane, who takes her in a manner under his protection, are odd, to say the least of them. When it comes to Charlie Montagu, with whom she falls in love solely on account of his beauty, her candour is of a kind that would more likely have alarmed that gentleman than pleased him. This is a small sample of the beginning of things:—

I feel and probably look crestfallen, for Captain Montagu laughs lightly and says—

"Don't look so frightened! Looks don't kill, you know! Come in, won't you?"

I shut the door and go forward as I am bidden.

"And how did you like the dance last night?" he asks in a tone the patronage of which I might resent from anyone else.

"Very much," I say, taking off my hat and looking fixedly at it, to prevent my eyes straying as they long to do to his face. "It was the first I ever was at."

"Really!" (with languid curiosity). "Oh then you must have enjoyed it intensely!"

"Must I?" I say, still not looking at him. "Why?"

"Because I believe it is delightful to do anything for the first time—anything pleasant at least. At all events it can't bore you, and being bored is the curse of most people's lives."

"Are you often bored?" I ask, looking at him with a great desire and curiosity to know something of his real feelings.

"Very often" (smiling). "I was bored last night when you forsook me for the cornet."

"Were you?" I say eagerly. "So was I." And then smitten with shame at my youthful sincerity, I bury my face in a book of photographs.

A little further on we come to more candour of the same kind:—

"Of course it's impossible for any of us always to do right," I say, anxious to defend him even against himself.

"But I am always doing what is wrong," he answers (maliciously making the worst of himself to vex me, I believe). "Somehow I seem to fall into it naturally. Ask my brother. He would tell you I wasn't at all fit company for such a good, well-brought-up little lady as you."

"I should not believe him," I say with some warmth. "I do not believe you—you only say it to tease me."

I stop, horribly ashamed of my *naïveté*. Oh why was I suddenly let loose from my rustic life upon society without any preparation?

"No?" he says softly. "Would it really tease you to think I was a miserable sinner?" And all this time he has never once taken his eyes off me.

"I should be sorry to think anybody was a miserable sinner," I answer confusedly.

"Oh!" (in a disappointed tone, probably feigned), "then you are only a general missionary—you don't take any particular interest in me? You would be as sorry for the footman or the gardener if they were in a similarly unconverted state!"

"Don't laugh at me, please," I say, looking imploringly at him. "You know I am only a little country girl, and I do so hate to be made fun of."

This edifying scene is broken in upon by Mrs. Huntingdon, who is flirting with the handsome Captain, and who calls him Charlie. Diana consoles herself for the lady's evident familiarity by the following reflection:—

But I recover myself when I remember a fact that I have forgotten for the moment—*she has a husband!* Blessed thought! It restores peace to my mind.

Her fish has come out of the sea; she has hooked, devoured him; he purveys her with rich garments, with much store of worldly wealth, for which she requites him with frowns and sulks; but my fish is still in his native ocean. I have not even baited my hook yet. I may angle for a triton or a minnow, and catch—who knows?

They are starting; I watch them jealously from behind the curtain, such a pair as limner might desire to paint or poet to immortalise in love-songs. The frown has gone from her brow, nay she smiles as she looks up at him. Yes, she is *very* handsome, I tell myself reluctantly.

The main thread of the story is the love of Hector Montagu for Diana, while she loves his younger brother Charles because he is "so beautiful," and therefore will have none of the elder and nobler, but sterner and less winning, of the two. In the beginning Charlie does not love her, though he makes love to her and "leads her on," by virtue of his proclivities which cause him to make love to every pretty woman with whom he comes in contact. As time goes on his simulated passion becomes a reality, and he breaks his promise to his brother not to try and win Diana, with that happy unconsciousness of a higher law and a purer morality which is characteristic of all the people in this book. When Hector becomes the baronet and owner of Alford Court, and finds that even now he can make no way with his charmer, he first of all tries drink and dissipation, then reads an old legend telling how a "sad knight" dies "for a woman's sake," underscores certain passages, wraps the book in paper, and directs the inner cover "For my sister-in-law if her name be Diana," the outer only "For my sister-in-law." After which he goes away and flings himself into the sea to save a boy who falls overboard, has cramp, and is drowned, "with the strange irony of Fate"—Mrs. Forrester is fond of capitals—going out of life "fighting his hardest to keep it when all these days and weeks past he had been longing for death,



and not knowing how or where to find it." Of course on this Diana marries Sir Charles, and "lives happy ever after," and the last page closes a story of mingled silliness and vulgarity such as we seldom have the ill fortune to read, or the disagreeable task of reviewing.

## FRENCH LITERATURE.

**M. MAXIME DU CAMP'S** volume\* leaves on the reader an impression of sadness in spite of the brilliant flashes of wit which appear in it from the first page to the last; for it is impossible to forget the fatal consequences of the revolution of 1848—a revolution accomplished by surprise, and the only result of which was to place the destinies of France for a short time in the hands of ambitious but incapable men. If ever any episode in the history of our neighbours was calculated to show the utterly mischievous character of the National Guard, it is certainly the narrative of the five months which ended in June 1848. The citizen-soldiers wanted to "give a lesson," as they said, to Louis-Philippe; but whilst the unfortunate King paid smartly for his extraordinary weakness, the lesson in his case was as transient as it was unprofitable, whereas the Paris *bourgeoisie* is still suffering under the effects of the reform banquets of 1848. We do not know what the admirers of MM. Louis Blanc, Ledru Rollin, Cavaignac, and Odilon Barrot will think of the unceremonious way in which M. du Camp treats their idols; but we do not remember having ever read so curious and so bold a criticism on modern French revolutionists.

M. du Camp asks, by way of conclusion, whether it really was worth while making in February 1848 a revolution of which the necessary consequences were the riots of May 15 and of June 23, all for the sake of transforming M. Odilon Barrot into a Prime Minister. M. Barrot's own memoirs† supply a negative answer to this question; and it is some satisfaction to know that the politician who with Lamartine was chiefly concerned in the events of 1848 openly acknowledges his mistake. The introductory chapter of M. Odilon Barrot's third volume begins by stating that the new Republic could not live, because the vices of its organization were complicated by a series of imprudent and foolish acts; a declaration which implies the condemnation of M. Barrot's own conduct, and of all revolutionary Governments framed according to the same theory. The book now before us takes us from the election of Louis Napoleon as President of the Republic to the dismissal of the Liberal Cabinet in 1849; it includes, of course, a description of the *émeute* of June 13, and it is amusing to find the cause of order upheld by the very man whose whole career till then had been an apology for the revolution. M. Odilon Barrot does full justice to the efforts of the Constituent Assembly to correct and nullify the egregious blunders committed by the Provisional Government. So far, the Legislature which sprang into power after the downfall of Louis-Philippe deserves all praise; its mistakes began when it found itself face to face with a President whose ambition it suspected, and whose ulterior designs it dreaded. Cavaignac's loyalty was beyond doubt, and, besides, he had saved society from impending anarchy; accordingly the Assembly felt no scruple in giving up to him the power with which it was entrusted by the nation. Louis Napoleon, on the contrary, had the misfortune of arousing distrust in the minds of all true friends of liberty, and the Assembly, as M. Odilon Barrot remarks, stood in the position of an enemy who can only annoy, and whose ill-will is puerile because it is harmless.

M. Paul Allard is already favourably known by his translation of Messrs. Northcote and Brownlow's work on the catacombs of Rome. He now attempts to deal with the question of slavery‡, and to show what was the share of Christianity in destroying one of the principal elements of heathen society. After the learned productions of MM. Wallon, Yanoaki, Cochin, Möhler, and others, it might be thought that M. Allard's volume was hardly wanted; but we must not forget that a new historical school has sprung up in France, represented just now chiefly by M. Havet, which seeks to demonstrate that Christianity has really had very little, if anything, to do with civilization. In a solid work, betokening much careful reading and prefaced by a good introduction, M. Allard shows the fallacy of M. Havet's argument, and proves that the gradual abolition of serfdom is really due to the Church, and subsequently to the influence of Christian ideas leavening public opinion.

The readers of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* will not have forgotten M. Julian Klaczko's interesting articles published under the title *Deux Chanceliers*.§ Collected now in a handsome volume, these sketches will be favourably received as a valuable contribution to the history of modern politics. The complications which brought about the Franco-German war are intelligible to any one who has studied the careers of Prince Gortchakoff and Prince Bismarck, and accordingly the two parallel biographies written by M. Klaczko appeal with special force to the attention of French readers. The author takes in the first place a kind of retrospective view; he describes the family antecedents of the Russian and Prussian states-

men, and shows how they were led to play the important part which has been their share in the history of the nineteenth century. M. Klaczko says plainly in his preface that his readers must not expect from him anything *inédit*. The documents he quotes or summarizes have been long before the public, and his only duty has been to explain and comment on them. Anecdotes abound in this volume, which reminds us more than once of M. d'Ideville's *Souvenirs d'un diplomate*.

M. Mailfer undertakes\* to defend democracy against the ultra-democrats, and to prove that what he describes as the transformist, dynamist, and evolutionist theories of the day are in flagrant contradiction to true republican principles. If mankind occupies no higher rank than the material creation, it follows that we are no longer responsible beings, and we fall under the empire of force. But the so-called dynamists, with a want of logic which is creditable to their better feelings, confess that man is endowed with the faculty of reason, for we could not otherwise penetrate into the regions of the unknowable; and, this concession once made, the notions of responsibility and liberty follow as a matter of course. The previous question being thus cleared up, M. Mailfer proceeds to show how the modern principle of democracy has affected the conditions of international law, and he discusses historically the views held by publicists and lawyers on the right of war, conquest, annexation, occupation, and colonization. As we have said, this book is written from the democratic point of view, but the postulate which M. Mailfer puts forth is one which politicians of every school must readily accept. The work is evidently the production of a scholar and an experienced political thinker.

Like M. Mailfer, the author of *La démocratie contemporaine*† is a decided Republican; he begins by saying that the theory of the *jus divinum* leads necessarily to that of "providential men," and is only fit for times of barbarism; he then takes for granted that the principle of equality is a direct result of the laws of nature, and that therefore forms of government are made for the people, and not *vice versa*. It is not our business here to point out the flaws in M. Beauré's logic; we merely state the cardinal axiom from which are deduced all the applications contained in his volume. The various branches of the public service pass successively under review, and the last chapter is devoted to a brief survey of the present state and probable future of European nations. The picture here drawn will strike some of M. Beauré's readers as slightly fanciful, but the wonderful elasticity with which France has recovered her position so soon after the war may well call forth feelings of pride in the minds of Frenchmen.

The third volume of Messrs. Hachette's edition of Molière‡ is now before us, containing *Les fâcheux*, *L'école des femmes*, with its accompanying *Critique*, and *L'imromptu de Versailles*. These three plays are certainly not among the best productions of the author, but they are historically most interesting. The *Fâcheux* is the first, chronologically speaking, of Molière's *comédies-ballets*, and we know, besides, that it was composed for the magnificent entertainment given to Louis XV. by Fouquet, and which led to the *surintendant's* disgrace. The *École des femmes* marks another epoch in the author's life. It was the greatest success he ever obtained, and his enemies took the opportunity of showing their spite by a deluge of pamphlets, in which he was attacked, not only as a writer, but personally. The *Imromptu de Versailles* may be considered to be Molière's refutation of his accusers. He held them up to the ridicule of the Court, and Boursault, in particular, was treated with an amount of severity which was perfectly merited, although it went beyond the bounds of strict moderation. All these details of literary history, and many others, are fully given in the excellent introductions and notes with which M. Despois has illustrated the several comedies published in this volume.

It would be difficult perhaps to mention two poets more totally different from each other than Molière and Théophile Gautier.§ Both have shed upon French literature a lustre which will not perish; and, if the author of *Tartuffe* holds the first rank on the list of classical writers, the romantic school has not a more illustrious name to boast of than that of the genius who forty years ago gave us the *Comédie de la mort*. Up to the present time the poems of Théophile Gautier had never been carefully edited, and even now it seems that many of his lyrics, buried in the *feuilletons* of the Paris daily papers, or in the columns of reviews and magazines, have escaped the patient researches of the friend to whom we are indebted for the two volumes now before us. We heartily welcome this new and important addition to the *Bibliothèque Charpentier*. The first volume contains the poems published in 1830, the legend entitled "Albertus," and the fugitive pieces composed as late as 1838; in the second we find the *Comédie de la mort*, the posthumous works, and a certain number of lyrics which were found in manuscript amongst the author's papers. We can thus follow the entire development of Théophile Gautier's poetical genius, and study the character of that wonderful artist, who, notwithstanding his cynical pretensions, has given throughout his writings so many proofs of genuine feeling.

The notion of publishing a yearly handbook of the stage and of musical performances is not a new one, but it has never before

\* *Souvenirs de l'année 1848*. Par Maxime du Camp. Paris and London: L. Hachette & Co.

† *Mémoires posthumes d'Odilon Barrot*. Vol. 3. Paris: Charpentier.

‡ *Les esclaves chrétiens*. Par Paul Allard. Paris: Didier.

§ *Deux Chanceliers*. Par M. Julian Klaczko. Paris: Plon.

\* *De la démocratie dans ses rapports avec le droit international*. Par H. C. Mailfer. Paris: Guillaumin.

† *La démocratie contemporaine*. Par A. Beauré. Paris: Lévy.

‡ *Œuvres de Molière*. Publiées avec des notes, etc. par M. E. Despois. Vol. 3. Paris and London: L. Hachette & Co.

§ *Théophile Gautier: poésies complètes*. Paris: Charpentier.

been carried out with the completeness which distinguishes M. Sarcey's volume.\* Let no one imagine that a work of this kind is easily prepared, and that it requires nothing but the dull exactness of an almanac. If you wish to do more than give a dry nomenclature, you undertake the duties of the historian, and, as M. Sarcey remarks, a readable and impartial *précis* is perhaps the touchstone of an experienced writer. We have named M. Sarcey in connexion with the *Annales du théâtre*; but it would be more correct to say that he acts only as the chaperon of MM. Edouard Noël and Edmond Stoullig; he is, however, responsible to a certain extent for the writers whom he introduces, and the collaboration of these three gentlemen has produced a very interesting work. Not only are the Paris theatres and concert-rooms successively reviewed, but the departments come in for their share of notice; and a distinct chapter is devoted to the principal dramatic novelties abroad. Bibliographical and necrological lists complete the volume, which exhausts the wide subject of drama and music for the year 1875.

The second volume of M. Daniel's *Année politique*† is in certain respects a decided improvement on the first; besides giving a very full and impartial sketch of the history of France during the last twelve months, it has allowed a larger space to State papers and other official documents, and it is completed by a table of synchronisms.

M. Louis Figuier's year-book‡ is already an old friend, and the information it supplies as to scientific discoveries, publications, inventions, &c., renders it very valuable. Many rival works have from time to time aimed at supplanting the *Année scientifique*; but none has succeeded. A glance at the contents of the volume for 1875 shows that in the various applications of natural philosophy and chemistry there has been no lack of useful activity during the last twelve months; the biographical notices, the summaries of the meetings held by learned Societies, with the table and alphabetical index, are, as usual, very correct and very complete.

Why should M. Ch. Desmaze take so desponding a view of the University of France, and pronounce, so to say, its funeral oration in his new volume?§ That the State should no longer claim a monopoly of teaching does not affect in the smallest degree the existence of our author's *alma parens*, and he ought to know that as late as the eighteenth century the various religious corporations—the Jesuits and the Oratorians, for instance—had schools over which the State had no control whatever. If the University of France is worthy of its fame, the competition of other educational centres will do it good instead of harm; and it seems to us singularly illogical that the most ardent friends of liberty on the other side of the Channel should be at the same time so eager to deny its application to intellectual training. Setting aside, however, all controversial topics, M. Desmaze's book may be usefully consulted as a work of reference; within the limits of three hundred and fifty pages it would have been impossible to give more than a few statistical details; and by suppressing a number of particulars referring to the polemics of the day, the author would have been able to present his readers with a still more satisfactory sketch than that which he now places before us.

M. Xavier Marmier|| is so thoroughly experienced in the art of travelling that he speaks with authority when he discourses about foreign climes. The duodecimo which he has just published is a series of summaries of books of travel; but he is able to bring the result of his own experience either to confirm or to refute the assertions of tourists, and thus his criticisms have an exceptional value. In the last chapter, which touches more particularly on emigration, and in the introductory one, devoted to the question of colonies, he endeavours to point out how far the French share in the love of locomotion which is so general just now. Whatever may have been the *casanier* habits of our neighbours formerly, they are certainly much improved in that respect, for some of the ablest books recently issued from the Paris press are books of travel—witness M. de Carné's volume which M. Xavier Marmier reviews in this work; witness also the amusing description¶ of M. Meignan's overland journey from Paris to Peking. China, let us add, is not the country respecting which M. Meignan gives us the most striking details; Siberia has chiefly attracted his notice, and he endeavours to rehabilitate in public opinion a country hitherto regarded as a kind of wilderness, on the threshold of which the famous *lasciate ogni speranza voi ch' entrate* might appropriately be engraved. If we may believe M. Meignan, Siberia is a thriving country, and its principal cities—Tomsk, for instance—are commercial centres capable of holding their own against the busiest emporiums of more civilized nations. The district of Transbaikalia boasts of gold mines so abundant that, compared with it, California itself is an exhausted land, destined to be very speedily abandoned by the diggers. Of course between town and town there extends a large tract of desolate and uninhabited steppes; but as the Imperial agents are compelled in the discharge of their duties to travel on an average more than thirty thousand

miles a year, there is an amount of activity which contrasts singularly with the ideas of exile, of stagnation, and of misery current in Western Europe with those who talk or write about Siberia. Then, as far as political offenders are concerned, it is no doubt extremely annoying to feel that you are not at liberty to leave the district assigned to you as a residence; but within those limits the persons condemned to exile enjoy the fullest liberty, and in Siberian society, which consists exclusively of men of business, they are the literary, intellectual, and learned element. M. Meignan is at any rate an amusing guide for the traveller who may feel disposed to face the asperities of the coldest of climates, and to spend forty consecutive hours in a sledge.

M. Schérer's sketches\* do not introduce us to any new names on the list of literary celebrities, and he has no pretensions to originality; but it is pleasant to hear what an accomplished scholar thinks about Lucretius and Rabelais, Bossuet and La Fontaine, and one is always sure of learning something in the society of the editor of the *Temps*. English readers who take up these *Études critiques* will naturally turn to the chapters treating of the works with which they are most familiar, and the articles on Shakspeare, Milton, and Sterne will probably attract them in preference to those on Machiavel and Goethe; they will find in M. Schérer a critic who has thoroughly studied their national literature. Thus the various points of view from which Shakspeare has been appreciated in France and in Germany are well described, beginning with the comments of Lessing and of the romantic school, and ending with the biographical explanations of Professor Rümelin. Under the singular title *Le cabaret du Mouton Blanc*, M. Schérer has endeavoured to give a sketch of Boileau's friends, and to contribute a page to the gossiping history of the seventeenth century. Molière and La Fontaine were, as is well known, somewhat less regular in their everyday habits than in their compositions; but, on the other hand, Boileau and Racine are names which are commonly identified with decorum, method, and stiffness almost carried to excess. Our author shows that such a notion is untenable, and that if we wish to know Racine and Boileau thoroughly, we must watch them as they carouse together in the dingy taproom of the "Mouton Blanc."

It is impossible to analyse a volume of detached thoughts, and M. Agénor Gasparin's book falls under this category; but we can at least state the impression it has produced upon us, and as La Rochefoucauld's *Maxims* may be defined the code of selfishness, so the *Pensées de liberté*† are the outpourings of a mind in which Christianity and liberty have joined in a natural and happy union. Like his friend and fellow-religionist, M. de Pressensé, Count de Gasparin has always seemed to French Republicans a champion of freedom spoilt by Puritanism, a kind of Don Quixote in pursuit of an ideal which cannot be realized in this world. The fact is that he is guilty of telling Liberals that they are not always true to their principles, and of honestly pointing out the less admirable side of the French character.

M. Lavollée is not the first French writer‡ who has taken Channing as the subject of his studies. M. Laboulaye and M. de Rémusat had preceded him in composing biographical sketches of the American preacher and philanthropist. The difference between M. Lavollée and the writers we have just named is that he has undertaken to carry out a programme set by the Académie des Sciences morales et politiques, which invited a study of Channing's character, considered chiefly as an abolitionist and a friend of education. It is often said that the truths advocated and enforced by Channing are mere commonplaces; but, as M. Saint-Marc Girardin well remarks in his work on Rousseau, the notion of duty deserves that appellation more perhaps than any other, and yet would the greatest optimist be bold enough to say that it can ever be superfluous to enforce moral obligations? M. Lavollée's volume, completed as it is by translated extracts from Channing's works, deserves to be popular in France.

The novels of the past month are neither worse nor better than usual. M. Alphonse Daudet's *Contes du Lundi*§, pleasantly written, have no pretension to be more than simple sketches, where history and fancy, poetry and satire, hold equal places. M. Hector Malot's *Auberge du monde*||, after having begun in a manner which promised well, has dragged its way through four distinct episodes, each of which is inferior to the previous one, the last, entitled *Thérèse*, ending amongst the horrors of the siege of Paris. George Sand's recent tales¶, without being in any way remarkable, still show that wonderful command of language which is unsurpassed by any French writer of fiction. The *Ménages militaires* of Mme. de Chandeneux\*\* are interesting descriptions of a class of society very little known to most readers; it was rather dangerous, perhaps, to challenge a comparison with Alfred de Vigny's celebrated volume, but the author has, we think, made good her claims as an original and clever novelist.

\* *Les annales du théâtre et de la musique*. Par E. Noël et E. Stoullig. Avec une préface de M. F. Sarcey. Paris: Charpentier.

† *L'année politique 1875*. Par André Daniel. Paris: Charpentier.

‡ *L'année scientifique et industrielle*. Par Louis Figuier. Paris and London: L. Hachette & Co.

§ *L'université de Paris*. Par Charles Desmaze. Paris: Charpentier.

|| *Les pays lointains*. Par X. Marmier. Paris and London: L. Hachette & Co.

¶ *De Paris à Pékin par terre*. Par Victor Meignan. Paris: Plon.

\* *Études critiques sur la littérature*. Par E. Schérer. Paris: Lévy.

† *Pensées de liberté*. Par le comte Agénor de Gasparin. Paris: Lévy.

‡ Channing, sa vie et sa doctrine. Par R. Lavollée. Paris: Plon.

§ *Contes du Lundi*. Par Alphonse Daudet. Paris: Charpentier.

|| *L'auberge du monde; Thérèse*. Par Hector Malot. Paris: Dentu.

¶ *La tour de Percemont; Marianne*. Par George Sand. Paris: Lévy.

\*\* *Les ménages militaires*. Vols. 1, 2. Par Claire de Chandeneux. Paris: Plon.



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